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Moderation truly Stated:

OR, A

REVIEW

OF A

Late PAMPHLET, ENTITUL'D,

Moderation a Vertue.

WITH A

PREFATORY DISCOURSE

TO

DR. *D'AVENANT,*

CONCERNING

His late ESSAYS on

PEACE *and* WAR.

By Mr Astell.

Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked Servant, St. Luke 19. 22.

Women are ſtrongeſt, but above all things Truth beareth away the Victory, 1 Eſd. 3. 12.

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To the Worthy

Doctor *D'AVENANT.*

SIR,

HAVING *Learn'd from an Ingenious Author, and* ‘ deeply imprinted in my Mind, the Notion that all ‘ our Thoughts, Endeavours and Deſignments, ſhould ‘ tend to the Good and Welfare of our Country; and ‘ being convinc'd, that even where Abilities are wanting, the ‘ very Intentions are Commendable and Vertuous: And that ‘ to cure the dangerous Diſtemper of Factions and Parties, ‘ ſhould be the joint Care of good Men, whoſe Deſigns and ‘ Councils ſhould all have the ſame End, that is, their Prince's ‘ Proſperity, and Country's Welfare; *which as I think, and ſo do very many honeſt Men, can only be promoted by ſerving the Conſtitution, even the National and Eſtabliſh'd Church,* which will always be found the ſtrongeſt Intereſt in *England, as a great Author upon exact Computations aſſures us. I was under ſome apprehenſions when your Book appear'd, leſt mine ſhould be contrary to the Maxims of ſuch a Maſter, But upon Peruſal, I found to my Comfort we Agree in the main, at leaſt ſo far as my Underſtanding admits me into your Politicks.*

Eſſ. upon the Ball. of Trade. *p.* 3. *Edit.* 2d.

Diſc. on the Pub. Revenue, *Part* 1. *p.* 82.

Ballance of Trade, *p.* 15<.

No wonder then, that ſuch a puny Author as I, your Humble Servant, am Proud to place your Name in the Front of my Diſcourſe, and to point out thoſe Notions wherein we agree, and thoſe wherein, no doubt to my Diſadvantage, we are thought to differ.

Firſt, As to our End, we both profeſs ‘ to lay before the Peo- ‘ ple what is Honeſt, Safe and Advantageous to the Publick. ‘ To paint out Faction in all its Colours, and to ſhew the miſ- ‘ chief it produces; *and all this for the Common Welfare. And how ſhould we ſo much as* ſeem *to do otherwiſe, ſince every one who*

Eſſ. on Peace and War, *p.* 7.

P. 10. Modera. truly Stated, *p.* 1. 61, 62, 78, 90, *&c.*

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can but ſpeak Engliſh, will declare a mighty Zeal for this? Wiſe Men indeed are of Opinion, that the only way to diſcover who are Sincere in theſe Profeſſions, and who are otherwiſe, is, by examining
Eſſ. *p.* 59. *the* Ways and Means *propos'd in order to thoſe great Ends. If a Man's* Ways and Means *are ſuch as have been often Try'd, and always found Ineffectual,* Your Servant Sir, *ſay they,* we underſtand you. *For all Men* ' cover their Deſigns with pretence ' for the Publick Good, but *moſt Men* in their Turns Sacrifice ' the Publick to their own Ambition.

Eſſ. on Peace and War, *p.* 7. 11, 19, 1. Moder. *p.* 2. 3, *&c.* 26, *&c.* 31. *But Unity and Concord, Peace and Moderation, are Means that You, and I, and all good Men Agree in, only we are not quite ſo well agreed what is* Moderation, *or what Methods are moſt like to procure the ſo much deſired Peace and Unity.*

Eſſays, *p.* 25. Moder, *p.* 70, *&c.* *However,* ' it ſeems evident that nothing will ſooner lead ' to Peace at Home, or be more the Intereſt of *all* Sides, than ' to have dangerous Principles Examined and Refuted'. *And*
Eſſ. *p.* 49. *to eſtabliſh this Fundamental Truth,* ' That to maintain the Safe- ' ty and Honor of the Publick, and the Strength and Dignity ' of the Laws, and not to do any thing that may blaſt or
Eſſ. *Sect.* i. *p.* 37. ' wound the Conſtitution, is the *true* and Common Intereſt of
Moder. *p.* 97. *all Perſons; and ought to be the Principal Object of their Care.*
Eſſ. *Sect* II. As alſo,

That there is not any thing more dangerous than Removing the Ancient Boundaries and altering the Conſtitution; *and that the next worſe thing is the not defending them, the leaving them open, without neceſſary Securities, and expos'd to the firſt bold Attack: That a Good Man ought always to exert himſelf in the Service of*
P. 60, 61. *his Country, more eſpecially when Factious and Deſigning Men have brought it into Danger. And tho' he may put himſelf among the Worſt Members of a Community, in order to Reſtrain and Reduce them; Yet he is not to joyn with the Beſt, in any unjuſt or diſhonourable Meaſures. But one dares not ſay with ſome, that* Faction
P. 54, 55. contributes to the Preſervation of Liberty, *ſo good a thing as this, ſtanding in no need at all, of ſo ill an one as the other.*
P. 61, 62. ' Faction it ſelf (abſtracted from the ill Uſe the great Ones ' make of it to ſerve their Turns) *being* in its Nature pernici- ' ous, and producing more Fatal Miſchiefs than Foreign War, ' Sickneſs, Famine, or any other Evil the Anger of Heaven ' brings down upon us: And therefore it ought to be the Con- ' cern of every private Man to put as quick an End as poſſible ' to what is ſo deſtructive to the whole'. *But it ought not to be his Concern to put an End to that, without which (as you ſay)*

perhaps

perhaps Liberty is not safe. *Indeed, Sir, I'm a little at a loss to reconcile your second Section to its self; but it is like when you wrote it, you had before your Eyes the 4th Chap. of* Machiavel's *first Book upon* Livy, *and could not absolutely condemn Faction, because 'tis of such Service to a darling Commonwealth.* P. 54.

But if there is a Time when Faction makes us abandon all Care and Consideration of the Publick: *And a Time when it does not* interrupt the right Harmony of Government; *all true Lovers of their Country ought to distinguish these Times, by giving us their Marks so plainly and precisely, that we may not be mistaken in a matter of such Consequence, since the applying wrong Medicines may be the ruin of the Body Politick, To be sure the Characters and Descriptions ought not to be left so loose and indefinite, that every Man may apply them as he thinks fit.* P. 58. P. 56.

And therefore since better Authors are silent, and since I am not considering what Ends Governors may have, *but what they* ought *to have, I will venture to lay it down for a Rule: That Faction ought never to be suffer'd, much less encourag'd, and is only to be endur'd when the Government is too weak to suppress it; and if it is a Wise one, it will use all Lawful Means to recover its Strength, and exert its Just Authority. But when Government is remov'd from that awful Eminency on which Reason, Religion, our own, and all Wise Lawgivers had plac'd it; no wonder that it comes to be Bearded by every little Fellow, that takes upon him to be a Leader, that is, a Seducer of the People.*

It is further agreed, That an Honest Man may very Honestly leave his Party when he finds it wanting in that Honesty which engag'd him in it. 'Where he has a full Conviction of being in 'the Right, he ought *even* singly, to stand in Opposition to 'all the rest, and to give a just and true Suffrage, *tho it happens to be* grateful to neither Side': *And be so far from quitting his Post, whatever danger he himself may run by keeping it, that he ought to maintain it more vigorously, because it is not only more* Generous, *but upon the whole, more* Safe, *to face those* 'Perils, which in the End must overtake us; and because in 'Truth the Actors themselves are not more guilty than they 'who sit still, if they have it in their Power, *or even if they* 'can but Hope, to prevent the raging Mischief. Eff. *Sect.* III. Moder. *p.* 97, 119. Eff. *p.* 72. P. 78, 79. P. 79, 80. P. 78.

And tho' a Man is not to be opiniated and wedded to his own *way, as if all his Conclusions were Oracles, tho' it is too true an Observation, that every Man spends so much time in Contemplating his own Perfections, and so little Considers his Neighbours, that there is not one in ten* P. 73.

thousand,

P. 73. *thouſand*, but thinks himſelf above the Vulgar Make of Men, *and that therefore the Privileges of the* Superior Judgment *are due to him: Yet it muſt be allow'd that after all, and when a Man has heard and examin'd impartially, all that other Men can ſay,*
P. 71. *if he is an honeſt Man, he muſt and will* Judge Sovereignly by his own Lights upon all Occaſions. *For he who gives himſelf up to anothers Conduct, is either very ſenſible of his own Weakneſs, which few Men are; or elſe, if there's any thing to be got by't, as commonly there is, he gives the World a full Conviction of his Knavery.*

But among all the Diſtinctions, Deſcriptions, &c. *that you are pleas'd to make, to inform us when we* ought, *and when we* ought not *to change Sides; there is one that ſeems to me to be worth them*
P. 74. *all*, (viz.) 'That if a Party's whole Proceedings tend to ſub-'vert the State, or to Undermine its Conſtitution; and if all 'this is apparent beyond Contradiction', *that Party ought to be* abandon'd, *and a Good Man will certainly join himſelf to thoſe that are* 'honeſter, more diſintereſted, and who have righter 'Intentions towards the Publick. *The Queſtion then will be, how theſe Intentions are to be diſcover'd? and what are thoſe* viſible Proofs *that will* Juſtifie *a Man's Conduct* to the whole World.

P. 83. *'Tis eaſie to diſcern what will* not Juſtifie him, *for he who carries on* Separate Treaty, *who* runs precipitately to make his
P. 84. own Terms, *who* deſerts upon the leaſt Fright, and is ſeduc'd
Tom. Double, *Part* I. *p.* 34. by the ſmalleſt, *or Greateſt* Hope; *who* is of any Side where he can beſt make his Markets; *who out of a Senſe of his own*
Diſ. on the Rev. *Part* II. *p.* 432. Uncorruptneſs, Activity, Publick Spirit, Uſeful Talents *(forſooth!) or for better Reaſons*, is never aſham'd of pretending to Buſineſs, *but* openly Brigues for Employments of Truſt, *or as*
Part I. *p.* 38. Tom. Double *has it*, gapes for Preferment; *ſuch a Man plainly ſhews, that he only makes the Publick a Step to raiſe himſelf. And*
Diſ. on the Rev. *Part* II. *p.* 287. *'tho* 'at firſt he may ſeem the beſt Patriot, and moſt zealous 'of the Nation's Rights; this laſts no longer than till he can 'bring to a good Market that Credit and fair Repute he had 'gain'd before: For when his Price is offer'd and agreed upon, 'he deſerts his Countries Cauſe, and helps on, or at leaſt ap-'proves of all that Miſ-government, which had been before 'the Object of his Popular Speeches and Venal Eloquence.

A Flying Squadron *therefore, compos'd of ſuch Men as theſe*
Part II. *p.* 79. *Part* I. *p.* 35, 36, 37. Pretended Neuters, *whom* Tom. Double *is* to look after, *and* keep ſteady to his Intereſts, *as being his* beſt Foundation, *and*

without

without whom he must give up the Cudgels; *those* Tools and Engines with which *he and his Party* work, *who are call'd* Disinterested Persons, honest Whigs that Love *England, tho' if you will consult him, he tells you he* knows them *better*; *and that they would as* fain come into Business, and be suffer'd *to Act (in his gross Language it is,* to play the Knave) in quiet, *as other People: Such a* flying Squadron *as this, will do Honour to neither Side, and it is* no harm if the Pens and Voices of all Mankind pursue them. *For tho' it is very true that a Man may be* accus'd, *may* be but coldly supported at best, *and* frequently betray'd and given up, *and that not for his Faults but for his Vertues; Yet it is as true, that a Man is as often Deserted for his Knavery. And he who in Dispite of Uprightness and Integrity would please every body, does generally, and as a due Reward for his Unmanly Compliance, please no body. Or suppose he should* Take *at first, yet the longer he lives the better he is known, and the more abhor'd; whereas the Honest Man's* Innocence, *however oppress'd, will in Time* shine out, and be visible to the whole World.

P. 35. P. 38. P. Eff. p. 48. P. 83. P. 47.

It must be confess'd that if due Care is taken, 'tis easier for a Man to convince the World of his Integrity than of his Superior Judgment; *and that it is rather the Honesty of his Heart, than the Refinements of his Understanding, that carries him to either Side. For Men are much less dispos'd to allow their Neighbour a Superiority in Sense, than an Equality in Vertue. He then who means to Justifie himself in* assuming *to be of the* disengag'd *and* disinterested Squadron, *must be as diligent in avoiding Preferment, as others are in hunting after it. And must let the World see that* that foolish Vertue of serving ones Country for nothing is *not* quite out of Fashion. *If he's none of those Men we describ'd above, his* Honesty *will neither be* Question'd *nor* Suspected *by either* Party; *but if he cannot pass this* Self-denying *Test, I own I am at a loss how to Justifie him.*

P. 73. Tom. Double, Part II. p. 85.

Well! but if it be supposed that ' both Sides are in the wrong, ' and when almost the whole is Corrupted; *since a Good Man must always bestir himself, what is to be done in this Case? Why truly* ' in these Occurrences a Good Man is to take the *best* ' Course, to do that which he thinks will be of the best Example'! *Admirable Discovery! and for which all Good Men must own themselves Infinitely Oblig'd to you* Dr! *But what shall a Bad, or an indifferent Man do? by all that I can perceive he* Will *do what is most for his Worldly Interest. If he is out of Office, he will exclaim against Abuses till he is got in; and when he*

Eff. p. 75. P. 76.

he has feather'd his Neſt and is warm in it, he will think it Pru-
Ball. of Power p. 95. *dence to be Quiet, and to be a* Compounder. *And thus among ſo many* Seemings, Perhaps's, Peradventures, and traverſing of Ground, *as this third Section affords, I hope I have hit upon your meaning, or at leaſt, and which is as well, I hope I have found out Truth.*

Indeed Sir, to tell you the truth of my heart, I was wonderfully de-
lighted with p. 72. *but ah! how tranſitory is Earthly Joy! the ve-*
ry next Page damp'd my pleaſure, and the following Pages Con-
p. 74. *founded me. I went whiſtling about to find out who they are, who* carry Things too high, *and who* are deaf to Accommodation, *and all that* —— *Till calling honeſt* Tom Double *to my Aſſi-*
Part 2d. p. 52. *ſtance, he ſhew'd me their* Pictures *exactly. There I found, that*
P. 8. *the* good Temper, *the* Tendency *and* Diſpoſition towards Quietneſs and Moderation, *which* was obſerv'd to be *among the Friends of the Conſtitution, or in his Language the* Country Party,
P. 62. *was* that which perplext *their Oppoſers* moſt, *and even* frighted
P. 61. them out of their wits. *Thoſe real Patriots gave* Proof that they were both for a War, and for healing Breaches, *or in the later and refin'd expreſſion, for* Peace at Home and War Abroad;
P. 60. *And that they were* reſolv'd to do every thing towards reconciling the Differences and Animoſities of the Nation, except giving up the VERY CONSTITUTION. *And good*
P. 94. *Reaſon, for as Mr.* Double *tells us,* 'it ſuits beſt with thoſe
' *Gentlemen's* Intereſt to preſerve the Conſtitution, *whereas his*
& p. 47. *Friends do not think themſelves* ſafe, unleſs they can deſtroy it.
P. 82. *And tho' none of them* think of laying aſide either their Fury or their Malice, *yet it becomes them* to act more covertly, *when* they find they are not ſo ſtrong as they thought they ſhould have been:
P. 83. And, ſince they are not ſtrong enough to cruſh their Enemies, they muſt ſeem to be for Moderation. This is plain enough.
Eſſay p. 75. *But what* if the Parties themſelves are alter'd *ſince* Tom Double *flouriſh'd, and that* no Change *is wrought in the* Wiſe
P. 72. Man *who* forſakes thoſe with whom he has always join'd, and goes over to their Opinion with whom he is not us'd to Mingle? *Verily it might be ſo, but that you, Sir, were pleas'd even in*
P. 260. *your very laſt Eſſay to tell us, of* the known worth, *(I ſuppoſe you ſpeak in the Preſent Tenſe)* Experience, Zeal, and Integrity towards the Publick, the Wiſdom, Probity and Unblemiſh'd Characters of the Gentlemen, *who have all along ſhewn* a true
Dedic. affection to the Antient Conſtitution of this Realm. *Theſe are they who you ſay,* have given repeated Proofs of their Right

it

Intentions to the Publick: *Who* are to be eſteem'd the true Parents of the Conſtitution, *becauſe*, *when* they could not enjoy it themſelves, *they* yet deſir'd its Preſervation; *and that therefore the* Governing Part *and the* Authority *ſhould be* poſſeſſed *by them*, *but can never* belong of right to *thoſe* who conſented to have it mangled. *Thoſe* whoſe Ambition may be ſtill at Work, *and who may* yet be graſping at Power which they hope to compaſs by the Aids and Voices of their Faction: *Whereas the Gentlemen we were ſpeaking of*, *who are not the Faction*, *but the dutiful Members of the Commonwealth*, *and Friends of the Conſtitution*, *know how to be* the Governing Part, *or at leaſt to Deſerve to be ſo*, *by better Meaſures.* See alſo p. 91.

Proſperity and Power *indeed corrupt Men*, *ſo that when one obſerves a Change*, *'tis very natural to enquire whether the Perſon who Changes is not lately got into Proſperity ard Power? There being nothing more neceſſary*, *next to the Grace of GOD*, *towards the Making or Keeping Men Honeſt*, *than their being* humbled by Adverſities. *Even* Machiavel *who was no very heavenly minded Chriſtian*, *aſcribes the Bravery of the* Romans, *and the Conſervation of their Liberties to their Poverty: He tells us Poverty is more uſeful to Mankind than Riches*; *that it has produc'd and improv'd many excellent Arts*, *which Riches and Luxury have deſtroy'd. And yet notwithſtanding the judgment of this famous Politician*, *there are ſome among our Moderns*, *who cannot forbear a certain hankering after* Honour *and* Advancements. *They qualify their* Ambition *indeed*, *by pretending they only deſire to riſe* as their Vertues lift them up. *And truly no Man deſires more than to climb up as his Vertue*, *or what he ſubſtitutes in its place*, *will Advance him.* P. 8. *In his* Diſcourſes. *B.* 2. *Ch.* 25. Eſſay, *p.* 84.

Be it alſo agreed that Diviſions obſtruct Diſpatch and Secrecy; *and ſo does the* Many's *interpoſing in that which is the Buſineſs but of* One. *Acts of State and Sovereignty*, *ſuch as the Conſtitution lodges in the Executive Power*, *being for certain more venerable and better purſu'd*, *when they are left to the Care of the Prince*, *than when they are open'd to the view of a Multitude. Provided the People can Truſt the Prince*, *as ſure they may when that Prince is entirely Engliſh.* Sect. 4.

And if the Factious will be ſo wicked as to betray and ruin their Country, *becauſe they are not ſuffer'd to Rule it*; *if they will be Spies for its Enemies*, *whether out of Revenge*, *or in Conſideration of Bribes and Penſions*; *if the leaſt hurt they do*, *is the* defeating *Publick* Counſels, bringing what Miſchiefs, Diſgraces and Diſappointments they can *upon a Government that does not* bring them See *p.* 89. P. 83.

them into Play, *putting a Spoke in the Wheel of all Affairs, which they*
P. 101. *are not permitted to drive*; and ſubverting that State which they are not allow'd to Govern. *What's to be done? Heal the Breaches if it is poſſible, this no doubt is beſt; but do not dawb them with untemper'd Mortar, leaſt you be cruſh'd in the ruin of that Wall which you vainly thought you had Repair'd.*

But if there can be no ſafe or Prudent Union, the next beſt thing
Mcdiv. p. 30, 118, &c. *is to put it out of their Power to hurt you, to be ſure you ought to lay all opportunities out of their way; never admit them into thoſe Councils which you would not have them Defeat and Betray; ſuffer them to*
Eſſ. p. 89. *have no hand in that Government which they* believe *it* imports
P. 88. them *ſhould* be weak and ill-adminiſtred. *For the* Prince *muſt needs be ill ſerv'd, and his* Buſineſs *will never go right; there can be nothing* ſteddy, *if thoſe* who are at the Helm *ſeek to* humour Factions, *or to be* back'd and ſupported *by them: If* they have Correſpondencies *and* keep well with them for fear of a Change, *and* to Create Confidence and give Marks of Friendſhip, communicate with them, *and ſo* lay open the Secrets of the State.

P. 92. *Nor can there ever* be Diſpatch, Celerity, and Vigour in Action, *which not* Fortune, *for Fortune is a meer Chimera, but GOD, who loves to give his Bleſſing to Honeſt and Proper Methods,* ſeldom fails of Crowning with Succeſs; *Any more than there can be well conſider'd and* mature Councils, *where either thoſe who Adviſe, or thoſe who Execute, draw ſeveral ways, taking upon them the Adminiſtration, not becauſe they approve the Conſtitution, and wiſh-well to the Government, but becauſe they get by't: But of this more hereafter.*

Now, Sir, as to your fifth Section, I think I have declar'd my
Sect. 5. *Senſe already. For every body* ſhould uſe their utmoſt Care to hinder the Growth of Faction, Miniſters of State, and Princes more eſpecially, *becauſe they have the moſt to loſe by it. He indeed who thinks that* Liberty is *not* ſafe in a perpetual Calm,
P. 84. P. 85. *does with a very ill grace talk of* rooting out the very ſound and name of Faction.

I will not Preach up Reconciliation among Chriſtians, whoſe daily
P. 97. *Prayers render it abſolutely neceſſary; nor tell them that* their Friendſhips ought to be Immortal, *and* their Enmities ſhort-liv'd; *Chriſtians ought to have no Enmities. Nor need one prove, ſince he*
P. 99. *who trys will find,* that Faction is but a rotten and deceitful Foundation (to reſt upon, *is a Tautology, 'tis imply'd in Foundation, ſo give me leave to drop that part of the Sentence.) That he who thinks himſelf a Leader will find himſelf a Slave; and* that Power will

will be but of ſhort continuance, *will prove a Curſe and not a Bleſſing, if it* is not obtain'd by honeſt and Noble Arts. *All this is very true and good: But now to put ſome* Caſes. P. 100.

Faction, that many-headed Monſter, *is to be ſubdued; but how muſt the Prince attempt it?* which way can he incline with ſafety? *ſhall he* Trim (as we now call it) between the Parties, *that is,* lean ſometimes to one, and ſometimes to the other ſide? *No, by no means, for* this were to become Contemptible or odious to both. Is he to let the claſhing Parties break and deſtroy one another? *No, this were to ruin his Kingdom and himſelf.* Is he to continue Neuter, *and to let the Leaders of Sedition engroſs all the* Power, Reſpect or Dependencies? *This were to be a King and no King, a meer No-body. Well, what then? Is* he to put himſelf into the Scale with the weaker ſide, to make the Balance even? *That were fine indeed, to make* but an Equality of Force, *and ſubmit* to Fortune the whole Deciſion of his Affairs! *But what ſhall he do? ſhall he not* join with thoſe who have the appearance of being ſtrongeſt? *No, not this neither; who knows but that they may be* Inſolent and Impoſing, *may* awe him with their ſtrength, *and make him in a* manner the Slave of their Irregular Ambition. *Hey day! what then muſt the poor Prince do? Why we'll conſider of it, and you ſhall know when our Second Part appears.* P. 102. P. 71. & P. 104. P. 105. P. 104.

Each of theſe Courſes is attended with its particular danger. *But if Princes can't compaſs an* Accommodation, *their uſual way is to Head thoſe who are* ſtrongeſt in Intereſt and Number. *And if it happens that theſe are of an Honeſt and Dutiful Temper, if they are but ſo wiſe and ſo Loyal, ſo Good and ſo Moderate, as the Gentlemen we deſcrib'd above, and whoſe Character you may read in the late Eſſays,* p. 260. *thoſe Gentlemen I mean who are hearty Friends to the Conſtitution, why then all is well. The Prince may very ſafely and Honourably put himſelf at the Head of theſe, without danger of a* Civil War. *Nor is this the* Heading of a Party, *'tis only Setting himſelf at the Head of the Conſtitution, the only Place that becomes a Prince. This is both that* Perfect, *and only commendable* Neutrality, *and that* Neceſſity that Compels *him; a Paradox you'll ſay, and yet a certain Truth. So then we have got out of Doubts and Uncertainties, Dangers and Difficulties, and have fixt our Prince at laſt.* P. 105. P. 110. P. 111.

But how muſt the Prince demean himſelf in this his Station, to give the trueſt Proofs of his Wiſdom and Conduct, and Steddy Government, *ſetting aſide all* Siniſter Arts, *the* ſuggeſtions P. 109. P. 110.

P. 111. *only of* weak *and* worthleſs Miniſters? *Let him Act like the* Common Father *of his Country, making it appear that no body Governs but himſelf. Let him diſcountenance every thing or Perſon that is Unreaſonable, diſpenſing his Juſtice and Mercy, as*
P. 103. *Wiſdom directs. Let him never be* Compell'd *to receive any Man into his Service, or to exclude him out of it; but let his own Prudence Govern, and not the Artifice or Inſolence of any of his Subjects.*

As for thoſe diſcarded Miniſters, who have been charg'd with
P. 115. 'Inſolence, Treachery, Miſgovernment, Rapacity, Profuſion, 'Negligence, braving of Juſtice, *&c. a heavy Charge! What ſhall be done with them? It is a nice Point, but we'll try to ſettle it. Now in the firſt place you muſt know, that thoſe are very bad*
P. 116. *things*; who denies it? all hurtful to a Country, and of a bad Example to be forgiven, *and not to animadvert upon them,*
P. 115. 'may encourage ſucceeding Miniſters to tread in the ſame Steps, and to fear making no Attempts upon the Publick, which are firſt attended with Profit, and then with Safety'. 'T*is granted. But then you are to take notice that* 'Faction it 'ſelf is more pernicious and worſe than any other Diſeaſe'.
P. 116. *Who doubts it? And what if the* Laws are impotent and unable to cope with powerful Iniquities, *and the Guilty are too ſtrong for you? Nay, what if the* 'Age be ſo corrupt as not 'to bear the Correction of ſuch Abuſes, and ſo deprav'd that 'Guilt may be upon better Terms than Innocence it ſelf'?
P. 126. This is indeed a melancholy Proſpect! *Why then you muſt e'en*
P. 116. *be quiet: for* 'twas a Saying *even* of *Portius Cato*'s, and *even* 'before the Senate, It was ſafer that an Ill Man ſhould not be 'Accus'd, than that he ſhould be Acquitted'. *And therefore, may it not be Learnedly and Logically* argued *from all theſe Premiſes*, 'that it more imports the Common-wealth to root out '*Faction*, than to animadvert upon any Crimes whatſoever 'that may have been committed in the State? *Very good*!

Let's ſet to it then to root out Faction; the Sovereign Remedies you
P. 120. *will be taught anon: In the mean time, firſt try the Strength of the*
P. 405. *Laws, how far they will bear, and your own Strength, and whether you have Vigor and Courage to exert them; and your Honeſty too, that is, whether you intend to* joyn openly *with the* Vertuous to
P. 404. ſupport Truth and Juſtice; *or whether* you look no further than to affect being popular, by taking Aims in all the Tranſa- 'ctions for the State, from what you think is the immediate 'Senſe of the Superior Party, be it Right or Wrong. *Then*

in

in the next place conſider your Men you have to deal with: Always remembring that ‘ in the Game Factions play for Power, as in ‘ Common Gaming all falſe Arts are made Uſe of, *therefore beware of* ſly Tricks and Circumventions. P. 118.

Now if Misfortunes have made your Men begin to melt, ‘ if ‘ they ſhew Minds diſpos'd to peaceful Counſels, and deſire to ‘ be quiet and to quit all Thoughts of returning to that Admi- ‘ niſtration where they have not been ſucceſsful, and are con- ‘ tent to be Obſcurely ſafe; why then, 'tis Generous to abate ‘ the Edge of any Anger that may be againſt them. *But if your* Lenity makes Offenders bolder; *if they* Cabal at Home, *and* miſrepreſent your Affairs to the Princes Confederates Abroad; if they foment Diviſions, hinder Buſineſs, give an ill Turn to all the beſt Actions, are ſory when Things Proſper, and receive with a kind of ſullen Pleaſure any Misfortune that befalls the Publick; if nothing but Power will content them, and they ſeem determin'd to force the Adminiſtration into their own Hands, *tho'* at the Hazard of their Countries Peace; give Viſible Proofs that they deſign to diſturb the State; are trac'd contriving dark Miſchiefs; *and* if they tread in the known Steps that lead to Sedition, forming among themſelves a Strength to oppoſe the Government and outbrave the Laws; *if* Private Perſons or Parties are doing all this; *why then* gentle Courſes are to be laid aſide, *ſay ſome Men; however all agree that you muſt of neceſſity* rouſe up and exert your ſelf; apply ſtrong Remedies and take *ALL LEGAL METHODS*, that may conduce to your Preſervation. *Right, very Right!* P. 114. P. 118. *See* p. 119. P. 120.

Ay, but Sir, a late great Author tells us, that Faction ‘ ſeems ‘ not ſo well to be dealt with by Rough as by Gentle Remedies. *And that* even *where* thoſe Jealouſies ſeem not to be ill grounded, a great deal is to be overlook'd. A few angry Reſentments, are not to *be taken* always for Deſigns to embroyl the State. Perhaps *thoſe who* Cabal and endeavour to ſtir up the People, intend no more than a Defenſive War; *and* Peradventure their Buſtle is only the Struggles and Convulſions of departing Ambition in the very Agonies of Death; *as ſome body has it, for Simile renown'd! Say you ſo, Sir; then pray where are we, to what a fine paſs ſhall we be brought by* Perhaps *and* Peradventure? P. 115. P. 120. P. 121.

But tho' theſe Struggles *and* Angry Reſentments *are not to be taken for Sedition and* Deſigns to embroyl the State, *yet ſure thoſe other Practices, of which our Author gives us ſo large an Inventory,*

See alſo p. 74. *ventory*, p. 119, *are* viſible Proofs *of it. And we who have no Window into Mens Hearts can only Judge of their* Intentions *by their Actions. And beſides, what are the Laws Good for? how are they* Executed? *and what ſort of Government muſt that be? that ſuffers its Subjects to carry on any ſort of War, no matter whether* Defenſive, *or Offenſive, either with the Government it ſelf or with*

P. 126. *one another? Is not this a* ‘ Mark your Government is looſe ‘ and weak, and that your Laws are impotent? *Is not this*

P. 135. ‘ a Sign that there is a Party endeavouring to Contend with ‘ *the Prince* even for Dominion, or who at leaſt would ſet up ‘ *Imperium in Imperio*? who rival the Princes Power, and have ‘ indeed ſet themſelves above the Laws’? *and then what fol-*

P. 136. ‘ *lows but that* ‘ a Nation ſo deprav’d can’t long preſerve its ‘ Conſtitution? *The Author I ſuppoſe did not think of this; but we are not yet come to the Section* Of the Executive Power, *there we’ll harangue to purpoſe in praiſe of a ſteady Adminiſtration; and there you ſhall ſee, (ſuch Feats can Authors play) that we’ll preſently ſet all right again!*

In the mean time, Sir, and to confeſs my Dulneſs, which is more than every body will ſubmit to, I am not able to find out what it is you would have us do in relation to Offenders. Shall we Puniſh

P. 112. *them? No; for neither the Princes noble Nature, nor* Neceſſary Prudence *will allow it. Shall we acquit them? No, not this*

P. 114. *neither*; ‘ for total Impunity brings Contempt upon the Laws, and begets a laſting Succeſſion of ill Government’, *and even the* Princes Lenity *is to extend no further than is* ‘ conſiſtent with ‘ the Being of the Conſtitution’. *What then are we to do? Muſt we neither Puniſh them, nor let them go Unpuniſh’d? this is a little Extraordinary; and if you would pleaſe to inform us, where the* Mean *lies, or what is* Moderation *on this Caſe, ’twould be a great Diſcovery and oblige the World extremely!*

P. 116. *But ſtay, —— I think I have found it:* Bad Men *are to* go unpuniſh’d *— not always — but* for a while. *They are to have*

P. 114. Impunity, *but not a* total Impunity; *there it is, and this nice Diſtinction has brought us off! A Rod, my Maſters hangs over your Heads, and you are but upon your good Behaviour. And what has any body to ſay to the Juſtice and Prudence of this Method?*

One Word, good Sir, I beſeech you: If they are Men of Wit and Spirit, as ſure their having got into eminent Poſts, either by good

P. 112. or bad Arts, *by ſome ſort of* Skill *however, and their being* Heads and Leaders of a Faction, *muſt force us to allow them this is the moſt dangerous Courſe that can be taken. For by not forgiving*

them

them entirely, *you keep up their Fears and do not gain their Love*; *and by not Punishing, you leave them a Power to Hurt you. Nor is it to be doubted but that they will endeavour to prove their Innocence from their Present Impunity. Therefore either Punish them Justly and Equitably if they Deserve it, and if you have a Mind to shew your Justice: Or else forgive them Generously and Entirely, if you mean to Magnifie your Mercy. Either of these ways may quiet their Minds and the Nation's Distempers; but part one, and part t'other, does only nourish Faction and keep us in endless Broils. Nor is this only my Opinion, for looking into* Machiavel *a little after I had wrote this, I found that Great Politician exactly of my Mind; in his Discourses on* Livy, *B.* 2. *Chap.* 23. P. 13.

And is this all you can Observe, says my Author; clear your Eyes a little and take notice of my good Address. ‘ *Gentlemen, I would fain please you all; You Noble Patriots* who have the Sword of Justice in your hands, who maintain the Cittadel, the Strong Hold, the Keep, *and whom* perhaps they have Justly provok'd; *if you doubt it, read but my first Section, which can have no other* Meaning *but to remind you of that Provocation, and to make my Court to you. Make no question but that* the Laws can reach a few busie Heads. Compulsion may be us'd without danger; *Your* Sword may be drawn upon those who will not hearken to the Dictates of the Law, and they whom right Reason and Common Utility, cannot contain within the Bounds of their Duty, can be kept in awe by severe Examples. *This above board; Now a Whisper in your Ear out of the Love I bear you. 'Tis evident what mighty Expectations these Men have,* from the future Condition of Things; *they look for a time wherein they may carry all before them, and you may remember that a good Friend of mine has told the World, that they* ‘ were never known to forgive, and that this is the Weakness ‘ of those Fools they have so long contended with, but if ever ‘ they are confirmed in their Numbers, not a Man of you ‘ shall be forgotten or Forgiven. *But* my Friends, Natural Heat might carry him too far, *and tho' I was once of his Opinion, that to grant them* Impunity, would render *your* Assembly as Contemptible as they could wish to see it; *and make them* too great to be question'd by a few resty Country Gentlemen; *Yet the Times being chang'd, upon better Consideration I have alter'd my Judgment. And believe me, my worthy Friends, I would not have you be* implacable, *nor* drive things to Extremity. *For* if one Side has as much Rancour as the other, the Commonwealth must bleed for ever. *Be content then with the* Triumph

P. 155. P. 45. P. 112. P. 185. P. 154, 155. P. 358. Tom. Double, *Part* II. *p.* 83. *Ib.* p. 45. *Ib.* p. 24. Eff. *p.* 74. Eff. p. 111. P. 106. P. 422.

P. 106, P. 423. Triumph *of your Charity and good-nature, and know you* have ‘ quite diſarm'd that Enemy whom you ſhall treat better than he treated you when at his Mercy. *Do not tell me of your neceſſary Security, but truſt to Providence and your own Vertue. And beſides, I will hereafter think of Expedients to Secure you, and lay* P. 261. *them down at large in my Second Part. You know how* many Proofs I have given of my firm adherence *to your* Intereſt; *and* doubt- P. 260. leſs your Candor is ſo great that you will not be offended to hear what *I have to ſay* on the other ſide.

I turn now to you Unfortunate *Gentlemen, who are at preſent out* P. 358. *of Play, but who have* conceiv'd vaſt hopes. *I have laid aſide all* P. 7. *my* inflaming Oratory, Satyr and Invective, *at leaſt ſo much of it as was not for your Service. For unleſs I had ſprinkled my Eſſays with a little of the old ſtrain, they had been ſo flat and languiſhing, that no Man would have given himſelf the trouble to have read the mighty Arguments I offer in your Favour. And beſides all this, ſuch a violent alteration as from the Quinteſſence of Gall to the Extract of Honey, would ſo have ſurfeited and diſguſted my Old Friends, as that it would have entirely diſabled me to ſerve you.*

Pardon therefore I beſeech you, thoſe ſeemingly waſpiſh Pages wherein I lay Inſolence, Treachery, *and the like, to ſome Peoples doors,* p. 115, *where I ſpeak of* Ambitious Men forming among themſelves a ſtrength, *&c.* p 118, 119. *The hard Inference I draw from the Actions of ſome* noble Friends *of whom I make fine Deſcriptions,* p. 150, 171, 192, *&* 396. *but this is only to ſet forth my Skill in Painting. Nor be offended that I tell the World, what ſort of Men are under the ſtricteſt tyes of mutual Aid and Friendſhip,* p. 222. *and where one may fear there will be a* ſtricter League than ever ſtruck up, *upon a certain Occaſion; a League* always formidable, and ſometimes fatal, *p.* 246, 247. *What tho' I unveil ſome of your Methods,* p. 404. *and ſhew what has been done, and what* Men *may* argue, *p.* 253, *&c.? Tho' I talk of Men of* abandon'd Principles, *to whom* Religion is indifferent, *p.* 251. *of a* Party, reſtleſs, undermining, and always at work, who have *Liberty* ‘ often in their Mouths, tho' it be diſtant from their ‘ Hearts, and tho' they are ready to give it up whenever they ‘ are bid what they think a ſufficient Price, *p.* 149. *alas! this is only to perſuade* ‘ thoſe who ſeem to have the upper-hand, to ‘ keep within the bounds of Moderation. *In a word, Tho' my Ingenious Accounts of ſome certain Perſons and their Conduct, are every where diſpers'd, as may be ſeen* p. 129, 227, 278, 280, 338, 342, 397.

The Reader is deſir'd to turn to theſe Pages.

tho'

tho' I remember how you drain'd the Publick, *and made it a* prey to Foreigners, *p.* 286, 287, 289. *Nay which is more, tho' I complain of the Unſteddineſs of your late Maſter*, p. 392, &c. *tho' I tax his profuſion to thoſe who had* no real Merit, *and* yet whoſe Avarice was never ſatiated; *blaming both the* immoderate Gift and undiſcerning Giver, *p.* 296. 299. *Tho' I tell the World, that* 'when the Publick Treaſure was waſted, a great proportion 'of it iſſued out to reward bold Mercenaries, who made open 'Aſſaults upon the Conſtitution, or to pay Pioneers who 'wrought in the Dark to undermine it; and that *theſe Aims* 'at *Arbitrary Power*, had an influence on all other Male-adminiſtrations, *p.* 313. That you flatter'd his wild Ambition, *p.* 280. *That even the Licentiouſneſs of King* Charles *the* Second's *Court was not ſo bad as his, ſince* 'Irreligion was not countenanc'd by the State; Atheiſm did not walk bare-fac'd, it had 'not its open Advocates, 'twas not a Recommendation, *p.* 219. *I mean no manner of hurt in all this, but a good Memory is ſometimes an Unlucky Quality, and out of the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpeaketh. Nor could I tell how to ſay leſs, having ſo long and ſo often exclaim'd againſt that* 'ſtrange Mixture of Men 'which we lately ſaw upon the Stage, Irreligious Phanatick's, 'and Arbitrary Republicans. Who have never done good 'but for themſelves and one another. Whoſe ruinous Con-'duct for 8 Years, was a greater weight upon this Kingdom than all other Burdens. *And as for your Maſter, you know when time was, I beſtow'd my Incenſe upon him very freely. And tho' Sect.* 1. *ſeems a little hard upon you, and a Retroſpection to* May 8th 1701. *is ſcarce agreeable to my preſent Lenity; believe me, Gentlemen, it has no* other meaning *but to make a Leg, and to be Gentleman-Uſher to the reſt of the Company. Beſides, you ſhall ſee, I will beſtow a whole Section to teach you to behave your ſelves ſo* Modeſtly, *with ſuch* Submiſſion *and* Decency, *with ſuch Reſpect to the Laws and to your Accuſers, when you lie under* Publick Accuſations, *that they ſhall be but as ſo many Squibs and Crackers, and do you no manner of hurt. Nay, if you'll but hearken to my Advice, I'll manage it ſo, that* the fallen Miniſter ſhall have the general Suffrage of the People for him, *and not* fail of being reſtor'd to Favour.

Alſo P. 273, 272.

Ball. of Pow. P. 40.

Ib. P. 49.

Ib. p. 80.

Eſſ. p. 46.

P. 37.

Sect. 6.

P. 136, 137.

Aſſure your ſelves, Gentlemen, the paſt Errors of your Managements *ſhould not be* eternally remembred, never forgiven, *and* always upbraided to you, *(for you know I declare againſt all this* p. 111.) *but only that I may* interpoſe for *you. I would never*

have taken notice that ‘ there is a Faction in the State, Corrupt, ‘ Ambitious, Implacable, Reſtleſs, bred under a looſe Admi- ‘ niſtration, impatient of a good one, and graſping at Power ‘ which they ſo much abus'd when they were in Poſſeſſion ‘ of it; *but only to let the Government know, how dangerous it is* ‘ to engage in Battle with an Enemy, Deſperate, Active and ‘ full of Stratagems, *and that* Slow Courſes *are beſt, and* teme- rity *ruinous*, p. 413. *If the Government will not be of my mind, notwithſtanding all my Harangues to perſuade them to it; if they think it is* Abſolutely Neceſſary *to be upon the Guard, and to in- trench themſelves ſtrongly againſt ſo Subtile, ſo Reſtleſs an Enemy, that Neſts in their very boſoms, who can help this? It is not the fault of your Humble Servant, who cannot* Compel *Men, but who has done his utmoſt, and us'd all the ſweet Charms of his Eloquence, to lull them into Security.*

P. 385. P. 381. *And now, Gentlemen, to addreſs my ſelf to* both ſides, *can ei- ther of you have a more* faithful, *or ſo* well-choſen a Friend? *where can you contract a more* ſincere and ſolid Friendſhip? *where will you find a fairer Advocate? I omit nothing that will bear on either ſide; I hold the Scale as even as any Man can; only becauſe Mercy is the moſt popular Vertue, with your leave I will incline a little to this ſide, at leaſt I will conclude this Section with a look towards it. Thus far my Author.*

And truly, Sir, I am of his mind; for tho' I ſhall not pretend to adviſe my Governours, yet I find Good-Nature enough in my Breaſt to diſpoſe me to be Merciful. And I make no doubt but that the Royal Heart excels in this as well as in all other Vertues; nor have the Church of England-*Men flown higher in any thing, than in their Acts of Charity, Forgiveneſs and Compaſſion. I make no doubt then, but that the Government will Act as every body ſays they will, when they Forgive an Injury. Pardon the Offenders as freely and as fully as you pleaſe, but there's no Need, no Reaſon in the World, to Truſt them. And if this won't content them, 'tis a plain Caſe to me what they would be at. I did not mean to tell you but that*

1ſt. Part p. 44. Tom Double *has made it no ſecret,* ‘ Dominion is our Idol, *ſays he,* and ha't we will by Hook or by Crook.

Before I diſmiſs this Section, I muſt tell you, Sir, that the World expects your Secret Hiſtory, *not that they queſtion your Ve- racity, or cannot take your* 107th *Page upon your own word, but becauſe they ſuppoſe it contains many Curious Things, as well as that Account you give us of King* Charles I. *and his Rebellious Peo- ple,* whom, *you ſay,* ſmall matters would have at firſt contented.

My

My late Lord Clarendon, *you know, was a* Perſon of Experience, *of* General Abilities, *had a* foundation of Merit, Adminiſtred *Affairs* Prudently, *and did* not ſtand in need of ſaying always what was pleaſing, *and his Hiſtory has hitherto paſs'd for Authentick. But as every body takes it, his Account of thoſe times is very different from yours. Nay, I thought my ſelf ſo ſure of it, that in the following Diſcourſe I've endeavour'd to prove from this Noble Hiſtorian, that no Conceſſions from the King, no Acts of Grace, could appeaſe the Factious Men of thoſe Times, nothing could ſatisfy them but the Ruin of their Sovereign and the Conſtitution.* Ballance of Trade, p. 149.

But I muſt thank you for rectifying a miſtake that the Common Hiſtorians had drawn me into. Homer *(for* Hemer *I ſuppoſe is the error of the Preſs)* is the Fountain, *you ſay*, of Policy as well as of all other knowledge. *Now I have been ſo Ignorant as to think* Moſes *and the Prophets of greater Antiquity; and looking into* Danet's *Dictionary juſt now, Article* Homer, *I find he tells us, that* 'Tertullian has obſerv'd that the Pagans did not deny, that the 'Books of *Moſes* were extant many Ages before the Cities 'of *Greece*, before their Temples and Gods, and before the 'beginning of *Greek* Letters. In fine, he ſays, that *Moſes* 'liv'd 500 Years before *Homer*, and that the Prophets that 'came long after *Moſes*, were yet more Ancient than all the 'Wiſe-Men, Law-givers and Philoſophers of *Greece*. *But becauſe you know better things, you Sir, who* have given ſo many Proofs of your firm adherence to the Doctrine of the Church of England; *Who expreſs ſo much concern for Religion, not only by beſtowing a whole Section upon it, in your late Admirable* Eſſays, *but even in former Diſcourſes which common Fame aſcribes to you. There you ſhew how neceſſary it is in order to good Policy*, that Governours ſhould take care to keep the People to the Obſervation of ſome Religion or other. *No matter which, whether it be that* which the wiſer ſort have for themſelves, *or thoſe* groſs Objects *and* Divine Rites conſiſting *in* Bodily Worſhip, Ceremonies and Sacrifices, *which ſerve* for the Vulgar. For Philoſophy will not ſuffice to bind the Common People to their Duty; 'tis only the few *and the* ſublimer Underſtandings, *that* are capable of the Benefits that may be receiv'd from thence: Wiſe Law-givers therefore have endeavour'd to keep the Inferiour Rank of Men within Bounds, by a Senſe of Religion. *So that thoſe Men were much to blame*, who objected againſt the Reveal'd Religion, as 'tis now tranſmitted to us, Eſſay p. 119. P. 251. Diſc. on the Revenue, p. 264. Ibid p. 268. Ib. p. 269, Ib. p. 268. Ib. p. 270.

if they had not another Scheme ready. *And to confeſs my Ignorance once more, I have often thought that this was the Faith of a Republican, but never knew before that it was the Doctrine of a Church of* England-*Man. Theſe things conſidered, I hope you will condeſcend to adviſe Monſ.* Danet *to correct his Error about* Moſes *and* Homer, *in his next Edition.*

Sect. 6. *And here we come to the Sixth Section. Now the* beſt Meaſure for Great Men to take, *that I know of, is to be careful not to Deſerve* Publick Accuſations; *and then 'tis no matter whether or no one lies under them. If a Man is Innocent, his Innocence will bring him off, or make his very Fall a Triumph over thoſe who ſhov'd him down. It is not a Modern Opinion I grant, yet perhaps 'tis a true one, that when a Good Man is Perſecuted, either by Court Intrigues, or Popular Fury, tho' it be to Baniſhment, Impriſonment, or Death, 'tis not he, but the Nation, that's the greateſt Loſer. A Good Man therefore may do any thing in the World with great Security, any thing that a good Man can allow himſelf to do: But an Ill Man can do nothing ſafely. So that if your* Great Men *have made themſelves ſo* Little *as to loſe their Innocence, I have nothing to ſay to them But I beg you to mark my* Antitheſis, *which ſeems*

P. 368. *to be as good as*——if you are ſtill in the Poſt of Power,—— and if you are quite out of it.

It is not my Buſineſs to adviſe Criminals to any thing but Repentance; if they like your Advice let them follow it. Tho' methinks if a Man will needs be a Villain, his beſt way is to be a Bold *one. For if Conſcience lays no Reſtraints upon us, what other Conſideration can? And what are your half Saints and your half Villains good for? The firſt has not Virtue enough to carry him to Heaven; nor the other Villainy enough to make him Conſiderable upon Earth; and here again I agree with* Machiavel,

P. 385. *that* half honeſty *is good for nothing. For my own part, I had rather be a* Socrates *or a* Phocion, *and periſh by Popular Fury, and it would ſatisfie my Ambition a great deal more; than to be a* ——— *any Great Man whatſoever, who Triumphs in the Ruin of his Country.*

Sect. 7. *What is now to be ſaid to the next* Section? *Why, not very much For I am intirely of your Mind, that* Miſgovernment *will never be* redreſs'd *but by* Mending Things, *as well as by removing* Perſons. *Tho' 'tis like you'll meet with many that won't allow it, and they have their Reaſon. For if* Things *and not* Perſons *were* look'd after, *'twould Ruin their Affairs, Places would be good for nothing, there would be no Advantages left for them to Succeed to.*

P. 142. *Again, I durſt venture to lay my Life on't, that if* ' Friendſhip, ' Acquaintance, Kindred, holding the ſame Opinion, with ſeve-

' ral

'ral other Reaſons and Excuſes, *let me name ſome of them, as Vicious Inclinations contracted by Evil Habits, and the being Partners in the ſame Guilt, did not ſet Men up* Advocates *for Wickedneſs, they would be* 'aſham'd of Defending what is in it ſelf a 'Real Crime. *For this muſt be ſaid for Vertue, She has Reaſon ſo clearly of her Side, that a Man muſt be a Fool and a Blockhead when he Deſerts her. And he who ſets up to Plead for Vice, whether Directly or by Conſequence, Openly or Cunningly, is of all other Coxcombs the moſt Notorious. So that if in the next Book you publiſh for the Benefit of* Young Gentlemen, *you would be pleas'd to* inſtill into their Minds *ſuch Principles as theſe, I dare ſay they would have Reaſon to thank you for them. and find them of greater Uſe than any other Arts whatſoever.*

You are pleas'd to allow that a ſmall Number of Preachers, *or Heads of a Faction, or whatever one may call them,* who gain by the Separation, *keep* the Diſſenters from joyning with the Church: *And that* there are many Inſtances that a Few have been the firſt Authors of Revolt and Sedition; *which is what I endeavour to prove. What it is that gives the* Few ſuch a Weight, ſhall not be here argu'd. *But it is a very Natural and Neceſſary Inference, that ſince a few can do ſuch Miſchief, Good Patriots ſhould be upon the Watch, and* not ſo much conſider what may Pleaſe at Preſent, as what is Right and Safe, and which way *they may* Eſtabliſh *and Secure* the State in all ſucceeding Ages, *againſt thoſe who would* Embroil it. *As little* Severity *therefore as you pleaſe, and as much* gentle Uſage *and* Lenity in relation to what is Paſt, *provided there* be a ſtrict Care of what's to Come. 'Moſt of the Great Changes and Diſturbances in Government, 'having been brought about by a Small but Active Number.

P. 142. Moder. p. 83, 84, 93, 96, &c. Dedic. P. 150. P. 147. P. 148.

The Point then is ſettled to our Hearts Content: So one would have thought, but

'O dangerous Eſtate of Sovereign Power! Rehearſal.
'Obnoxious to the Change of every Hour.

I had not got to the End of the Section e'er all was in Confuſion! Men *muſt not be* allarm'd with angry Retroſpections; *and yet in half a dozen Lines,* Inquiries are of Abſolute Neceſſity! *Now* this is to be done —— *and anon,* ſo much and no more! *Well, commend me to Men who* creep ſervilely after Senſe, *as Mr.* Johnſon *has it. For alas! I'm too dull to underſtand thoſe who are* given altogether to elevate and ſurpriſe; *and* who accuſtom themſelves to a correctneſs and choice of Words, *as a greater Author expreſſes himſelf.*

P. 157. See the next Page. Ball of Trade &c.

What

What ſhall I do? what Conduct ſhall I find,
To lead me thro' this Twi-light of my Mind?
For as bright Day with black Approach of Night
Contending, makes a doubtful Puzling Light;
So *Juſtice here, and Mercy put* together,
Puzzle me ſo, I can reſolve for neither!

any more than Volſcius *could determine whether he ſhould pull on his Boots; and ſo I paſs on to the next Section.*

Sect. 8: P. 161. *And here we happen to ſet out with an ill Omen, for ſince all* 'the Vices Men can be Guilty of; their Impiety, Ambition, 'Envy, Malice, Revenge, Hypocricy, Fraud, and Intempe-'rance, (*you might have enlarg'd your Liſt*) tend to the Damage 'of our Country, *ſo that he who bears it a true Affection won't be guilty of them,* 'for we are not willing to hurt what we 'Love: *By the Rule of Contraries, he who is Guilty of theſe Vices does not love his Country, and ſo we have loſt a World of Patriots at* P. 162. *a daſh. And further, if that Man's* Mind *is not much* bent upon the Publick *who* ſets too high a Rate upon himſelf, *I doubt we ſhall loſe all the reſt, and then good night* England!

And now give me leave to take notice of a very pretty Conceit, which is New and your Own. We have had many fine Schemes of Government, have traced it up to the State of Nature, Original Contract *and all that,* ——— *but I don't remember that ever I heard* P. 162, 163. *till now, that* Pride *was the Foundation of* Sovereign Empire over the reſt of Mankind. P. 163. *And that if it had not been for Pride, we had* all been Fellow-Citizens of One great Commonwealth the World! *All upon a Level no doubt of it, and why ſhould we not endeavour to reduce the World to its* firſt Principles, *ſince You and I ſhould be no Loſers by't? I like this Thought extremely, and were I not in haſt at preſent, I ſhould be as troubleſome to you Sir, as Mr.* Smith *was to Mr.* Bayes, *by asking a hundred Impertinent Queſtions, concerning this fine Deſcription of the* Production *of* what we call Civil War.

P. 164. *But as for the World's being deceiv'd, by* 'Vice dreſs'd in the 'Robes, and adorn'd with the Attributes of Vertue, *this is no News, nor any thing extraordinary, ſeting the Metaphor aſide. For Vice is ſo Ugly, that tho' a Man might entertain it for his own Turn, he would gain no Followers, no not among the Factious Crew, who are ready enough to follow any thing, if he did not diſguiſe it in the Appearance of Vertue. And were I able to trace a Thought up to the Fountain head in imitation of your great Example, I fancy I ſhould*

ſhould find that this is the Reaſon, why there is ſo little Real, *and ſo much* Appearing Vertue, *among Mankind.* P. 165.

I approve the Advice, but I can't reliſh the Expreſſion, that the beſt way is for every Man to mend one, *my Grand-mother has told me ſo a hundred times. In a Book ſo Rhetorical as yours, it ſounds a little Flat, and is neither ſet off with True nor* Falſe Eloquence. *Beſides, we have been admirably well told by a Divine Author, that every Man ſhould* Study to be Quiet, and to do his own Buſineſs; *and what can that be, but to Provide for himſelf? that is,* to Mend one. P. 1, 6.

But whilſt you are Mending other Peoples Morals, I find you've almoſt ſpoil'd mine. I ſhall ne'er have a good Thought of Divines and Philoſophers *again, if their Precepts can't do ſo much* good *as the* Authority *of a few Factious Men. But the Reaſon may be, becauſe Philoſophers and Divines propoſe a Pleaſure too Refin'd for the groſs Palates of the Moſt; and their Recompence is to come Hereafter. Whereas Faction offers ſomething in hand; there's Golden Mountains, as Men think, to be got by't.*

And this may alſo ſtand for a Reaſon why Men Love the Crooked Roads of Vice, rather than the eaſie Paths of Vertue. *There's little to be found in theſe but Tranquility of Mind, and that Peace which the World can't give; whereas the former glitter with Riches and Preferments, and tho' Folks may be ſeen* quarrelling *upon them, yet this is only about* dividing the Booty. *You know who it is that ſays,* 'Men will probably be more willing to liſten after 'Vertue, when Poverty is grown upon them'. *But Poverty is not that they like, he underſtood Mankind better, who tells us that* 'he who has good Store of Money ſhall be eſteem'd and Courted 'let his Birth be never ſo Mean, or his Life never ſo In-'famous. P. 187. P. 63, Diſc. on the Rev. *Part* I. p. 274, Tom. Double, *Part* I. *p.* 14.

But pray, Sir, how comes it that you take upon you to give ſo fair a Character of our late Prince King James II? *You ſay he* 'had 'many Vertues, *and that* his worſt Enemies could not juſtly 'charge him with any Material Fault in Government, but 'what he was firſt led into by Superſtition. *How happy was it for this Nation that by cutting off his Father's Head, we ſent him and his Brother into Baniſhment to learn this Superſtition: Otherwiſe we ſhould not have had* with the other Bleſſings of the late Revolution, the very Preſident, *which* is not to be accounted among the leaſt. *We had not obtain'd that happy Opportunity of* anſwering *all our* fooliſh Doctrines, *and* ſetting Liberty upon a better Foot. *And upon this Account it is, I ſuppoſe, that ſome People are for* Eſſ. P. 198. Grants & Reſump. P. 24.

aboliſhing

aboliſhing the Faſt upon the 30th *of* January, *or rather for turning it into a day of Rejoycing, becauſe of the* Preſident *and good Effects. But it may be, Sir, you Publiſh'd King* James's *Vertues, to make us ſenſible that by GOD's Bleſſing we live in a* Reign *ſo* juſt and
Ep. Dedic. good, *as that a Man may utter* Truths which *ſome* Governments could never bear. *Real Heroes 'tis true, have not been known to ſuffer any Petulant and Fawning Sycophants to make court to them by Invectives againſt their Enemies. For they who have real and Eminent Vertue, know they ſtand in no need of ſuch a Foil. And yet, I can't tell how it happen'd, that there* was *a Time, when all the little Scriblers about Town, acted* Shimei's *vile part, by venting all their no-wit, and over-flowing malice in reviling Afflicted Majeſty.*

'Tis indeed a very juſt Obſervation, that tho' a Man may pardon thoſe who Injure him, yet he never Forgives thoſe whom he Injures. And ſome will tell you, this is the Reaſon, that the Miniſters of a certain Prince who ſhall be nameleſs, were not only Pardon'd, but reciev'd into Favour, and Advanc'd to Places of Honour and Truſt, while the poor Prince only was the ſufferer. Tho' accord-
P. 379. *ing to your laſt Politicks* ' it is not quite clear, whether or no ' GOD allows the Subject any other Remedy for Miſ-govern-' ment, but to puniſh Miniſters for what the Prince has done ' amiſs, by reaſon it was their Duty to adviſe him better: *And tho we have formerly read Declarations that have profeſs'd the ſame thing. But words are but the Cloaths of the Mind, and conſequently may be laid aſide as the Seaſon changes, and when they grow uneaſy and out of Faſhion.*

And now I muſt tell you a Thought that's juſt come into my Mind.
P. 166. *If the* Heads and Leaders *of Faction* might by their Authority, *(as you ſay they can) put* an End to this Madneſs of the People,
P. 334. *tho' it be not good to multiply Laws, yet in* ſuch a Caſe *as this, there ought one to be made to force them to make* Peace at Home,
P. 166. *at the Peril of their Heads; notwithſtanding what may be* more conducing to their Deſigns *and* Intereſt.

As to Hiſtory and Eloquence, I dare not contend with you,
P. 173, &c. *only as I underſtand the matter, your Hiſtorical and Florid Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of Faction in this Kingdom, might have been ſum'd up in three or four Words. For it got head among us, either when the Prince was Weak and the Miniſtry Wicked, or elſe when both were Weak, or both Wicked, at leaſt there was Weakneſs and Wickedneſs among them, wherever it lay. Not but that the People were as much in fault, or rather more than the Prince, but this we ſhall take notice of hereafter; nor ſhould I have made ſo*

free

free with Crown'd Heads, which is not according to my Principles, but that I have Convers'd among the beau monde *ever since the late Revolution.*

But pray, Sir, since you are an Admirable Historian, be pleas'd to help me out of one Difficulty. Among other things that you tell us have been the chief matter and occasion of Discord here, *you* P. 196.
reckon the Prince and his Ministers aiming at Arbitrary Rule; attempting Changes in Religion; Persecuting tender Consciences; wasting the Publick Treasure so as to bring heavy pressures upon the People. *Now in your fore-going History of the Rise and Progress of Faction, at not many Pages distance I read,*
'that notwithstanding the Sanguinary Temper of *Henry* VIII. P. 178.
'the perpetual and heavy Taxes he laid, his Profusion of that
'great Treasure his Father left him, and the total Change he
'made in Religion; yet no Party could be rais'd, that by its
'Numbers, Interest and Strength, could be able to shake his
'Throne; and yet here was all the above-mention'd *matter*
'and *occasion* of *Discord.* P. 179.

So in Q. Mary's *Reign*; tho' the Protestants were perhaps the
'stronger Side, yet they durst never take up Arms in their own
'Defence, against her cruel Persecutions: Persecution then it
'seems is not always an Occasion of Sedition. *Nay, even in the Reign of* 'her Glorious Successor Queen *Elizabeth*, who is a Pat-
'tern which Princes who intend to rule well and wisely, should
'ever have before their Eyes; *Tho' as another very Authentick Author tells us, and proves what he says from Records,* 'tis certain Ball. of Power, &c.
'She now and then exerted her Authority in a manner very un- P. 197.
'warrantable by our Constitution: Acting as if she had *had* the See also Ess. p. 216.
'same Arbitrary Power here, as the Princes her Neighbours
'pretended to have in their Dominions: Yet the Commons Essays p. 180.
'were Obedient, her Authority was awful to the Lords, and
'the Church was rent asunder by no Schisms. *Now pray Sir, how am I to reconcile these Differences; or which of these Authors and which of these Pages, am I to give credit to?*

But be this as it may; before I dismiss them, give me leave to make this Observation on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. *That when a Queen makes it* 'evident to the whole World that it Ball. of Power, P. 198.
'can never enter into her Thoughts to make any step that
'shall hurt *England*; when she is known to have such Right P. 197.
'Inclinations to the Realm, that she will make no ill use of
'her Authority; when she keeps the Ballance of Power e- P. 198.
'ven, never engaging in Wars, but what are unavoidable and

P. 197. ‘ manag'd with Frugality, Acts of Power ſhould not be mur-
P 198. ‘ mur'd at in her, nor her Proceedings oppos'd; *but the*
Eſſ. p. 216. *more (I will not ſay* Arbitrarily *but) Sovereignly ſhe Acts, ſo much*
Eſſ. p. 181. *the better, ſo much the more is her* Subjects Good conſulted and her own Honour. Her People *will* enjoy *more* Plenty, Quiet, *and a farther* extended Trade; *and be more Formidable to their Enemies and make a greater Figure among all their Neighbours. Thus it was in Queen* Elizabeth's *Days, and thus we hope it may be again, by following her Councils. What they were, we*
See Moderat. p. 82, 83, 94. Alſo p. 29, 38. *have endeavour'd to ſhew in the enſuing Diſcourſe; nor can any one be Ignorant with what a ſteddy hand ſhe held the Reins of Government, never debaſing her ſelf ſo much as to Court the Seditious and the Factious, by any Method but the Wiſdom Juſtice and Goodneſs of her Conduct;* by ‘ the Noble Arts of Ruling well; by
Eſſ. p. 201. P. 414. ‘ a Management without Reproach, and by Diſcountenancing ‘ ſuch as endeavour'd to give Diſturbance to the State.

And this methinks has brought us to the main buſineſs, even the Cure of Faction; which in the plenty of your Fruitful Brain, was
P. 168. *almoſt forgot. I take your word Sir, that* Civil Diſſentions *are*
P. 166, 167. *not an* incurable Diſeaſe, *and that they* are more eaſy to be ſubdued *in a Monarchy, than in a* Democracy *or* Ariſtocracy. *And tho' you had not, yet even common Senſe would have told us, that they tend to the Ruin of the State. And that therefore it is the* Duty *and Intereſt of a* Good Prince *to put an end to theſe* Diſcords. *But how ſhall this be done? how, but* by the
P. 169. Princes Authority, *and by* his vigorous Execution of the Laws? *which contains all your other* By's. *For as for your* But, p. 191. *tho' you have* Machiavel's *Authority for it, I can by no means allow it, and have given my Reaſons elſewhere. But however I*
Moder. p. 26, &c. *will here add another Reaſon of more weight with moſt People, than twenty Truths. It is not ſeaſonable, it has been out of Faſhion almoſt theſe Two Years, it is not at all the Air of the Court. Not*
P. 191. *only* Liberty *and the* Force of Laws, *but what is a more effectual Security, the Vertue of our Prince, has baniſh'd from Her Throne this abominable Doctrine, that* Honeſty and Vertue *are in* ſome Caſes Pernicious, *and that* a Prince willing to retain his Authority is compell'd to be bad. *Our Sovereign has Nobler Arts of maintaining her Authority; For there is a Natural Superiority in Vertue, that extends its Empire over the Minds of the moſt* Corrupt; *forcing them to do Homage wherever it is obſerv'd in any eminent degree. And tho' it muſt be confeſs'd that* Vice has obtain'd a ſtrong Dominion *among us, this will only be an occaſion*

caſion for Her Majeſty's Great Genius to exert it ſelf in the Redemption *of her* Country, *from this moſt deplorable* Calamity. *Our ill Example inſtead of being a Temptation to her to follow it by* Humouring *and* Indulging *us in our* Follies, *will only inſpire her with a noble Ardour to ſet us a better.* P. 79.

As for the Cure of Faction; you ſay 'it is moſt evident from 'the experience of all Ages, *that no ill affected Man can be able to diſturb the State, where there is an honeſt, careful and Uncorrupt Adminiſtration. Our work then is done for this Reign, we are only to take care of Poſterity, and ſo to ſecure the Conſtitution, that Faction may never ſprout up hereafter. Upon which view no doubt it was that you thought fit to beſtow upon us the* 9th *and the following Sections. Theſe I ſuppoſe are that* Part *of your* Diſcourſes *which you* deſign'd *to make Publick in* November, 1701. *For there is not the leaſt danger, GOD be thanked, at Preſent, either of Arbitrary Power, Miſmanagement of Publick Treaſure, or that National Intereſt ſhould not be purſu'd any more than that* Property *ſhould be* Invaded. *Nor indeed is there any Reaſon to fear, either* Religion *or* Liberty of Conſcience, *whatever alarms ſome Men would ſeem to take. Would to GOD we could as well ſecure them to all ſucceeding Generations, however we hope to do it, if a ſtrange mixture of Cunning and Folly don't defeat the zeal of our Prince and of all good Patriots. It is upon Poſterity then, that you beſtow your Labours, and ſure, thoſe Gentlemen can't be in the wrong, who following ſo great a Precedent, are for ſecuring the Conſtitution, and conveying it intire to their Nephews.* P. 172. So again, P. 185. P. 16. P. 203.

We will examine therefore the ways you propoſe, and ſee how much they excel other Mens Expedients. For no body doubts 'that Faction is more Pernicious and worſe than any other Diſeaſe, 'and will, whenever it gets ground be the ruin of a Nations *and conſequently, that all Juſt and likely Methods ought to be taken not only to extinguiſh it at preſent, but to prevent its riſe hereafter. But how and by what Means it is to be prevented, is not ſo ſoon agreed.* P. 115.

However, to know what Faction is will go a good way towards the Cure, tho' ſome perhaps may ſay, after all this talk about it, does it yet want to be Defin'd? But theſe Men ought to conſider, that a great many pretty Speeches and fine Diſcourſes would be loſt, did either Speakers or Writers keep cloſe to the Point. An Equivocal Expreſſion helps a Man to cuff a Subject about at ſuch a rate, that thoſe who make more uſe of their Eyes and Ears, than of their Thoughts, believe him Invincible. Eſpecially if he has

P. 362. Falſe Parts, *and* falſe Eloquence, ‘ becauſe it is not hard for Great ‘ Parts and flowing Eloquence ſo to cloath Falſehood, that it ‘ ſhall appear as fair as Truth it ſelf.

Now Faction is not merely an Oppoſition of other Men, for then the Beſt and Wiſeſt Perſons muſt always be Factious, for they will always Oppoſe the Wicked. And according to a Great Author,

Pal. of Tr. p. 130. ‘ ’Tis wrong to call them the Faction who by all Dutiful ‘ and Modeſt Ways promote the Cauſe of Liberty; *he might have added, or that ſtand up in Defence of the Conſtitution. So then, tho' there be two Sides, there may be but one Faction, ſince they who are in the Right are not Factious, and thoſe who are in the Wrong always deſerve that Character, if they carry their Error ſo far as to create Diſturbance in the State. Faction therefore is either the making of a Party in Oppoſition to the Laws and the Eſtabliſh'd Government; or elſe the purſuing of a Publick Good by Unlawful Means. Whoever he be that does either of theſe things is a Factious Perſon, be his apparent Good Qualities, and fair Pretences what they may. And if we carry this Idea in our Minds when we read a certain Author, it will untye a great many Sophiſms, and lead us out of the Duſt and Obſcurity which a promiſcuous and equivocal Uſe of the Word has rais'd.*

P. 202. *For Inſtance, we are told that* ‘ it is Prudent Moderation to

And ſo again, P. 421. ‘ countenance Men of Real Worth and Merit without Diſtin- ‘ ction of what Side they are: *and we are made believe that this is the ſame thing as* ‘ to receive all the Good with Impartial ‘ Kindneſs. *Now this is only a mere play of Words, there's nothing in it; for Men truly Good will never be Factious. If by Worth and Merit you mean a Man of Learning and Eloquence, of Cunning and Dexterity in Affairs, and ſuch like Qualities as uſually recommend a Man in the World; if it be Merit to confound the Notions of Good and Evil, to put Darkneſs for Light, and Light for Darkneſs, I grant there's enough of ſuch Merit as this to be found, and 'tis uſually of Faction's Side, and theſe are the Men that do the Miſchief. But theſe are not Good Men, far from it, and an Author who has given ſuch frequent and ample Deſcriptions of ſuch Men as theſe and their dark Proceedings, muſt never pretend they are.*

A Good Man is he who acts in the Integrity of his Heart, without any ſiniſter and ſelfiſh End, and I won't deny but that there may be ſome of theſe among the Factious, but then they are Men of no Reach, of very indifferent Underſtandings, and are only made the Tools of the other. Such as theſe, as they are not fit for weighty Affairs, ſo I ſuppoſe they don't often pretend to them. For thoſe

their

their Honesty might recommend them to the Service of their Prince, their want of Abilities forbid it. All then that these Men can pretend to is Protection, and an Approbation of their Integrity. But if the Dangerous *and the* Active, *the Men of Intrigue, of greater Ability and less Honesty, are to be employ'd, this is what our Author calls the* Trimming Game, *and a* Course full of Difficulties, *so far* P. 202. *is it from being* Prudent *or Expedient, or* Moderate, *if Moderation in this Case be a Vertue, and not rather a supine Remissness, a want of Fore sight, or of Application.*

Forgive me this, Sir; now to make you some Recompence, I own you write like an Oracle, Page 200. *There is no good indeed to be done* by complying with the Avarice and Ambition *of Mankind, for these are never satisfy'd. And since that which* they generally con- P. 103. tend for is not who shall best serve *the Prince,* but whose Service he shall be compell'd to make use of; *the only way is to shut the* Court Gate *against all such Brigues as these. So I think, tho' I am not in Office; but others are of Opinion, that Men who are* yet unprovided for, *give you no thanks for this Maxim. A Maxim, which had it been follow'd, would long ago have clipt the Wings of* Letter to the Author of *Ways and Means*, in Disc. of the Rev. *Part* I. *those* Gentlemen, whom common Fame and the Voice of the World, have pointed out as the ablest Men. *Tho' they have* Eff. *p.* 68. ' nothing but the Appearances of Worth with false Vertue, ' false Parts, and false Eloquence, *which yet makes them so* Popular *sometimes, as that* ' *they are able to disturb their Countries* ' Peace'. *It being more* easie to blow the Coals of Discord *than to quench them; as any body may be convinc'd, who will but compare the former* Discourses *and* Essays *of a Certain Author, with that* cool and cautious Oratory, *which has lately appear'd.*

Good Government *then must heal those* Distempers, *which, as* P. 203. *you say,* first arose from Male-administration; *but whether they may not have another Original, shall be enquir'd hereafter. And this Good Government is to shew it self, as we learn from the following Sections, by* pursuing National Interest; *Avoiding* Arbitrary Sect. 9. Sect. 10. Power; *Taking care of* Religion, *that it have its Influence on the* Sect. 11. P. 224, 225. *Manners as well as on the Opinions of the People; that the* Establish'd P. 233. Church *have the* Affection *and* Favour *of the Prince, because* Regal Authority has no other solid Basis to rest upon but the P. 232. Church; *that Church Preferments be fill'd with worthy Men; and* P. 226. *that Dissenters have* Protection *and* Liberty of Conscience: *There* P. 233. *must also be* Frugality in managing of Publick Treasure: *A careful and steady* Execution of what the Constitution requires; *that* Sect. 12. Sect. 13. P. 302. *Government going on so currently and regularly through the Prudence* P. 327.

and

and Vigor of the Executive *and* Miniſterial Parts, *there may be bu*
Sect. 14. *little Occaſion of reſorting to the* Legiſlature: *And to bring all this*
P. 302, &c. *about, the Prince muſt do as much of his Buſineſs himſelf as he can,*
P. 388, 389. *and becauſe he cannot do it all, he muſt be very careful to make uſe*
P. 320, 321. *of the ableſt Heads and Hands, calling to his Aſſiſtance a Wiſe and*
P. 408. *Honeſt, a Faithful and Courageous* Miniſtry; *Men* Stout *and*
P. 406. Circumſpect, *afraid of* ‘ doing nothing but what is ill in it
P. 403, &c. ‘ ſelf, and againſt the Rules of Vertue: *He muſt be ſteady in*
his Conduct, Protect his Servants no longer than they do well; and
P. 401, 404. *ſo long as they are Honeſt and Upright, he muſt Defend them a-*
gainſt all Aſſaults. This is as I take it, the Sum and Subſtance of
the remainder of your Eſſays, I dare not take upon me to affirm, that
it might have been as well ſaid, and as much to the Purpoſe, in juſt
ſo many Words. But ſince you think fit to be more particular, and
are ſo Liberal of your good Thoughts, I will endeavour to follow your
Example as far as my Penury will allow.

Sect. 9. *The Petty Sections of* National Intereſt *and* Arbitrary Power,
are ſoon diſpatch'd, tho' methinks for two ſuch mighty matters, they
make but a very little Figure in your Book. A Starter of Caſes
P. 205. *indeed would needs ſay, that if it is a Rule with* Machiavel ‘ ſel-
‘ dom or never ſubject to Exception; *and with you Sir,* the
P. 110. Fountain of *our* Engliſh Policy, *our very* Homer; ‘ that in Mat-
ters of Empire, whoever is the Cauſe of another's Advance-
ment, is the Cauſe of his own Diminution; for Ambition was
‘ never known to ſet it ſelf any bounds: *By a Parity of Reaſon,*
in a certain Caſe, they who are the Cauſe of a Party's Advance-
ment, or which is all one, who do not hinder it, do hereby leſſen them-
ſelves. A Truth ſo plain that the Diſſenters and their Patrons are
well aware of it, and ſpare no Diligence to conceal it from the Friends
of the Church and Conſtitution.

P. 205. *But you take care to tell us, that* ‘ it is not meant by what you
‘ advance, that a Prince muſt always head his Army. *This I*
ſuppoſe is in Complement to her Majeſty, and in reſpect to her Sex.
We know there have been Queens who have Commanded at the Head
of their Armies with as much Bravery and Reſolution as the greateſt
Hero; even Queen Elizabeth, *if I miſtake not, did wear her Jack-*
Boots. But we have too much National Intereſt *in our preſent*
Sovereign *to expoſe Her to theſe Hazards, leſt it ſhould* quench the
Light of England. *She is the* Breath of our Noſtrils, *we know*
not how to Live if this fails us. Moſt Men, 'tis true, Worſhip the
Riſing Sun, if they can do it covertly, and make their Harveſt at
Preſent, as well as Sow their Seed for the Future. But ſince when
Time

Time was, they left this Service unpaid, for Reasons themselves are best acquainted with, 'tis but just and equitable that they should double and triple their Present Devoirs, centring all their Services Here, without a Look or the least promising Expectation of Hereafter. For when our now Meridian Sun must leave us, and Oh! that it were possible to protract it for Ages! we shall too surely find, that the Glory of England *sets with Her.*

So then we have done with these two Sections, since we entirely Sect. 10.
agree, That a Constant Pursuit of National Interest *is good for every body; but an endless Contention about* Arbitrary Power *is good for no body; and what we disagree in shall be taken notice of hereafter. Only by the way, since things are ill Governed when the Prince has either* too much Power, *or* too little; *a Man of your clear Thought should have inform'd us what is* too much, *and what is* P. 211.
too little; *For that Degree of Power, whatever it be, that enables a Prince* to defend the People; *if it is lodg'd in ill hands may be us'd to Oppress them. And that* Regal Authority *that is* reduc'd so low *as that there is no possibility of its being abus'd* to Oppress, *is* on the other hand *utterly unable to Defend the People. And* 'since it is most certain that the Laws of GOD instruct us to P. 378.
'suffer a great deal from Princes', *it had also been worth the while of an Author of your Exactness, to have argu'd and determin'd how much we were to suffer, and to have setled the* Bounds *of* P. 211.
Liberty; *a perpetual Wrangle about these being no small Occasion of the growth of Faction; and* 'Subjects having been often reduc'd to Bondage by aiming at unbounded Liberties. *It might be thought Presumption in me, to touch this Draught after such an* Apelles; *nor is this a proper place to treat the Subject as it ought to be handled; one knows not what may be attempted upon a just Occasion.*

Religion and Liberty of Conscience *are the great Arguments of the next Section; but if this* Dispute *is* for a while postpon'd, P. 14.
I hope I do not lose my Right *to resume it. This is* 'the Cittadel, the strong Hold, Keep and last Refuge', *and perhaps all the rest of the Book was wrote for the sake of this; and therefore we will take in the Out-works before we approach it.*

What then is to be said to the Twelfth Section? very little, for Sect. 12.
the Great Governour of the Universe made nothing in vain, but gave every Man a Genius good for something or other, and if he has but so much Skill as to know his own Strength, and not to go beyond his depth, he may not be unuseful to himself and the Publick. Nor do we only allow in Theory, that Oeconomy in Managing the Publick Treasure is for the Honour of the Prince and Ease of the People, who doubts it?

but

but we can now go further than the bare Speculation, we feel every day the Benefits thereof.

Sect. 13. *The next thing to be conſider'd is the* Executive Power, *and we are glad to find you grant that the* Conſtitution *lodges it* Originally in the Prince, *and in him only. Tho' ſome nice Criticks are a little ſurpriz'd to find an Author who has profeſs'd ſo long and ſo violent a*

Reform. p. 24. *Love to Liberty, as not to think the* ſetting our Minds at Liberty *from* fooliſh Doctrines *of* Unlimited Obedience, *was too dearly purchaſed by fifty Millions and ſome Hundred Thouſand Lives, which a late valuable* Precedent *coſt us; to find an Author who was once ſo fond of the* very Precedent, *within ſixteen Years after run Government up to the utmoſt height, and even beyond thoſe fooliſh Doctrines*

P. 378. *from which it deliver'd us! For does that* ‘ Obedience, *ſay they,* ‘ which the Scripture enjoyns to Government in general, in- ‘ clude all the Miniſterial Officers of the State? *and have none but the* Peoples Repreſentatives *a* Right to queſtion their Proceedings? *Should a Miniſter ſend to cut our Throats, or to diſtrain upon our Lands, muſt we ſuffer it? may we not ſecure our ſelves and appeal to the Laws? or muſt we ſtay till the Repreſentative of our County or Borough complains to the* Houſe of Commons, *and they* call him to Account *and* puniſh his Offence? *We have been taught indeed that* there is no Power but of God, *and that the* Powers that be *(that is the Lawful Powers, for St.* Paul *was no Friend to Robbery and Uſurpation)* are ordain'd of GOD. *Moſt of us took the* Teſt, *wherein we declar'd, that it is* not lawful on any Pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King; —— or againſt thoſe Commiſſioned by him according to Law. *But we never heard till now, that Miniſters whether or no they have the Prince's Commiſſion, or the Authority of the Laws, for you ſay not a*

P. 379. *Word of this, are only to be dealt with or* queſtion'd *by a Parliament! This is Paſſive Obedience with a witneſs, and the moſt* fooliſh *ſort of it that ever was taught!*

P. 314, &c. *Well, however this may be, 'tis very ſound Doctrine, that not the*

Moder. p. 27, &c. Good *but the* Bad Buſineſs of a State, *is Difficult and* Unpleaſant: *And that a* Wicked States-man *is a* Miſerable Slave *amidſt all his Gay Trappings and Servile Adorers: That a Good Prince has Thorns a-now in his Crown, and therefore the People need not envy him a few Prerogatives, nor grudge him that Mony which is only em-*

Eſſ. p. 316. *ploy'd in their Service. But it is not his* Centring *all his Thoughts* in the Publick, *and directing all he does to the* Common Welfare, *that makes him Uneaſie, for this is the Pleaſure, as well as the Buſineſs of a Great Prince; his* Nobleſt *Prerogative, the* only Jewel

that

that makes his Crown worth the Wearing. *But that which afflicts him is, that his People will not be made so happy as he desires and endeavours to make them.*

Who knows not that 'the chief End of Government is to pre- P. 329,
'vent Corruptions? and that the fewer there are there will be need of fewer Laws'? *But who can discern that it follows from hence that there ought to be but few Laws, unless you had Condescended to Prove that the Men of this Age have but few Corruptions; or that New Laws Corrupt them? You have writ enough in all Reason to render it impossible to prove that this Age has but few Corruptions: And as for New Laws being the Occasion of Corruption, there's something said indeed* p. 334. *that would look big and put on the Air of a Proof; but People tell me it is an Imposture and nothing at all to the purpose, and being very much of their Opinion, I dare not undertake to defend it, for if it proves any thing, it proves too much, and would conclude that no Alteration, no New Law is to be made upon any Account whatsoever; for thus we may argue. The leaving any Fault whatsoever uncorrected, or any Necessity unprovided for, can't be so great an Evil, as the* 'making the Peo- P. 334.
'ple lose that Reverence to the Publick, without which Go-
'vernment cannot long subsist. But a *Multiplicity of Laws* deprives them of this Reverence, *and therefore 'tis better to let Evils grow to a head, than to make New Laws to Restrain them.*

A worthy Argument! but why was it not thought of sooner? and before so many Changes were made, even in the very Foundations? Do not mistake me, and say, I speak of England, *at present I am only reflecting on Sir* Thomas More's Utopia, *and the* New Atlantis. *For if a frequent* Correction of the Errors, *or* P. 335.
pretended Errors of a Constitution, *deprives the Government of the* Reverence *of the* Vulgar, *I doubt these poor People have at present not much to lose.*

As for England, *let it be wise in time, and not set other Nations* Precedents, *but learn Wisdom from their Misfortunes. Let us keep as many as we have of the Ancient Land-marks, they are the* Palladiums *of the State, let us use all our Power and Skill to secure them, for the further we deviate from the good old Paths, we shall only find our selves the more bewildred. But I suppose, Sir, you offer'd that Argument only as one of the* 'many Proofs of your firm Adherence as well to the P. 261.
'Interest as the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; *and in opposition to Dissenters, who are always for Alterations, and yet know not where to fix*; *and then I agree with you. Otherwise all*

I have to do is only to admire that extraordinary Quality of drawing Conſequences which no body elſe can, and having a Reach and Fore-ſight beyond all your Fellow-mortals! But it is certainly a Gift, and one of the greateſt Bounties Nature can beſtow upon a Man; *For without this Talent what Man could have dreamt, that*
P. 336. *the making a few harmleſs Laws, would end in* a total Subverſion of the State.

P. 331. *How far* 'Wealth and Vertue may conſiſt together, ſhall 'not be here argu'd; nor how a Wiſe Man brings it about to 'be both Rich and Vertuous. *Only by the way, Truth it ſelf has aſſur'd us,* that it is eaſier for a Camel to go through the Eye of a Needle, than for a Rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. *And what can it be but his want of Vertue, that keeps him out? So that tho' it may not be Impoſſible, it is at leaſt very Difficult for a Rich Man to be a Good Man. And therefore tho' it is a wonder why a Wiſe Man and much more a Chriſtian,*
P. 329. *ſhould ſtrive for Riches; yet it is none why* Lycurgus *ſhould baniſh them from his Government. Could you reduce* England *to that Simplicity of Manners, for which the* Spartans *were ſo famous, I make no queſtion but you had got the Specifick that would Cure all our Diſeaſes, even Faction it ſelf, as inveterate as it is, and might pluck it up by its very Roots. But whether or no you think it proper, or have any Intentions to write us into the* Spartan *Diſci-*
P. 331, 332. *pline, I know not. This I know, that you grant that all wiſe and great Nations, when they diſcern'd Corruptions coming upon them, made early Proviſions againſt them by wholſom Laws. For tho'*
P. 334. much Phyſick vitiates the Blood, *it does not follow that therefore we muſt never take any. Even in that ſtrong and healthy Body Politick, the* Roman *State, we find there was a* Miſchief
P. 332. *they could not* root out all at once, *but were* forc'd to pull at it
P. 333. *thrice*; 'to wit in the *Licinian*, the *Cincian* and *Oppian* Laws; *and thro their remiſneſs in conſenting to the Repeal of this third Law, the Miſchief broke in upon them to the ruin of the Common-*
P. 335. *wealth. And to Infer that* all is out of Order, *becauſe ſomething is to be mended, will hardly paſs upon the* Vulgar, *but to be ſure will never be admitted by Men of any* Form *or Underſtanding.*

P. 339. No doubt there can be nothing more dangerous than to mingle, *and ſo to confound the Legiſlative and the Executive Power, but all other Queſtions apart, we need only inquire, whether an* Er-
P. 143. ror in the State may not be redreſs'd *unleſs by the* Law-makers? *If it can't, then to be ſure they muſt exert their Power: But if*

it can,

it can, then it may be most ' prudent, safe, and consistent with ' the Nature of the Constitution, *to let Business go on in its Natural and Ordinary Method.*

We remember who it was that not many Years ago had found out very many minute Inquiries for the Legislative Authority, *and thought it could* bring the most effectual Helps to set us right *in case of ill administration. Nay, went so far as to advise* Committees *of Inquiry* to sit in the Interval of Parliaments; *which was never yet heard of, but in that Long Parliament which overthrew all our Laws and involv'd us in a Civil War. And this has given some People occasion to say, that the only way to take off the* wanton Enemies *of the* State, who hurt it without Malice, *and only because* they have nothing else to do; *is for a certain Author to Publish a Volume of* Essays *every Year, which it is suppos'd will furnish the* Fault-*finders with a full employment.*

Ballance of Trade, *p.* 186. *&c.* P. 188. See my Lord Clarendon, *Vol.* 1. Essay *p.* 352.

It was some of those witty Folks, that would needs persuade me, that you are extremely kind to the Legislature by excusing them from Business and begging them a Play-day. Because you tell us that their Time *must neither be* taken up with Inquiries, *nor employ'd in making Laws, since a* Multiplicity of Laws depraves the Manners of the People, *that* few Laws *are best, and that* New-Laws *are only the prescription of* State Empericks.

P. 341. P. 334. P. 336. P. 334.

But I correct these Idle People and assure them that you know better things, than to shew such a monstrous *sight as the great Champion of the Legislature turn'd Recreant, and giving them up as an insignificant Assembly, and thus I go about to prove it. To Do and Undo, without knowing where to fix, is such a fault as should not be made before the Vulgar, least they think themselves Wise enough to instruct such inconstant Law-makers. An unnecessary multiplying of Laws may like enough deprave the People; And Laws are Unnecessarily multiplied, when the Constitution has already made Provision, if you will but Observe and Use it. It is therefore to no purpose to make Laws if you never execute them; or to* ' use your Remedies so short a time that the peccant Hu- ' mours can't be carried off; *but to make Laws when they are really wanted, is another thing.*

P. 337.

If the Legislature has already done its part, and the fault is in the Executive Power; 'tis unnecessary to multiply Laws to the same purpose, you need only quicken the Execution; for Laws not Executed are in Effect no Laws. But if on the other hand, the Evil still continues, tho' the Laws are vigorously Executed, 'tis a sign some

good Law is wanting, and that the Legiſlature has not yet made due Proviſion for the Cure.

P. 336. *Laws* muſt not be Enacted upon every ſlight ſuggeſtion, nor
P. 332. Repeal'd with the ſame Levity. *Yet* Emergencies may happen, *allow it be but* rarely in a State well govern'd, *yet ſometimes they ariſe, and* new Diſtempers ſhew themſelves, *and in this Caſe* 'tis certain, freſh Remedies muſt be apply'd, *and* recourſe *muſt be* had to the Legiſlature. The Body Politick
P. 338. muſt not Live upon Phyſick and ſtrong Cordials, *but in Caſes of Neceſſity it may innocently make uſe of them. And who ſhall be judge of thoſe* Emergencies, *and this* Neceſſity *but the Legiſlature? If it leaves the Executive Power where the Laws have fixt it, and only exerts its own Authority, methinks neither you nor I, nor any modeſt body has reaſon to find fault. For every Man, and every Body of Men are beſt in their own way, and about their own Bu-*
P. 345. *ſineſs. And* to help *the Government* by Advices, or new Laws when wanted; to leave no vice or Crime unconquered when once aſ-
P. 343. ſaulted; to intervene with its Authority as the matter requires, not only with Repreſentations, and Advices to the Throne, but by Offering New Laws, when the Fault or Miſgovernment can be mended no other way, is the Buſineſs of the Legiſlature. *When*
P. 338. Vices *have* been fixt many Years, *and the People* have been long miſgovern'd; be the Affairs of the Publick upon a good or bad foot *for the preſent*, the Aſſiſtance of the Legiſlature will, from time to time, be wanting to keep what ſtands upright from
P. 347. warping, and to ſtraighten what is crooked. *Nay, ſometimes* there lies upon 'em an abſolute Neceſſity to interpoſe, or all muſt go to Ruin. *Do but turn to* p. 342, *and you'll find a great many* If's, *and even ſome reſerv'd* in petto, p. 343, *ready to be produc'd upon occaſion if all the reſt are diſpatch'd, that* are the proper Objects of the Legiſlative Care and Wiſdom.

And now I hope I have prov'd to ſome purpoſe that the Legiſlature is not become an Idle and Antiquated Part of the Conſtitution, notwithſtanding thoſe Banterers who will needs have it, that ſeveral of your Sentences look with a ſuſpicious Air; and as
P. 34, 35. *if you meant to add to* thoſe Libels *which* endeavour'd with utmoſt Malice and Virulence to bring a part of the Legiſlative Authority into Contempt and Hatred. *No, Gentlemen, you that ſo valiantly maintain* the Cittadel, the Keep, *never fear that you ſhall want employment, we have found you enough to do. For indeed, ſo great is our Authors Civility and Compaſſion, that he never ſeems to ſtrike a blow in one Page, but he takes care to ward it in another.*

The

The only danger is, that in so many traversings, *one should lose their Guide, and not be able to find out what the Author would be at. Nor can every Man's Brain endure so many turnings; therefore beware, Reader, that in following such a Guide you do not lose your self.*

And if there be ever a Case or Instance wherein the Three Estates, *that is Two parts of the Legislature, or the Lords and Commons the Subject Body of the Parliament, that Corporation of which the Queen is the* Head, *the* Beginning *and the* End, *as* the manner of Holding Parliaments *tells us; For that the King is* one of the Three Estates, *was* Pryn's *Doctrine indeed, and his Fellows, but we have not heard it affirm'd by any better Men: The Oracle of the Law, my Lord* Coke, *is of another Opinion in his Chapter of Parliaments: But if, as I was saying, there be ever an Instance, wherein the Two Houses have thought fit to proceed so far, as to carry a Bill through each House in one Sessions; and to go through with it very speedily in One House the next Sessions; every Man who has a Reverence for the Wisdom of that Great Council, must needs suppose it a matter of* Absolute Necessity, *and that they would not take such Pains but in a Case of the Greatest Moment. If they shall think fit to Consult and Treat upon any Bill for the Service of the Queen, the Defence of the Kingdom, and of the* Church of England, *which are the three things that by the Writ of Summons, the Queen has call'd them to consult with Her about: This is then the* Emergency, *this is that* Necessity, *which all true Patriots will provide for, with an Integrity and Prudence, Spirit and Resolution, becoming the Trust repos'd in them, and I pray GOD give them good Success.* 14. Hen. 8th. p. 3. See Instit. Par. 4. p. 3, 4.

But, Sir, I am to thank you for a Discovery, alas! I have hitherto thought, that according to Moses, *we were all of* Adam's *Race, and that a State of Nature was a meer figment of* Hobbs's *Brain, or borrow'd at least from the Fable of* Cadmus, *or* Æacus *his Myrmidons, till you were pleas'd to inform me* 'of that Equality wherein 'the Race of Men were plac'd in the free State of Nature. *How I lament my Stars that it was not my good Fortune to Live in those Happy Days when Men sprung up like so many Mushrooms or* Terræ Filii, *without Father or Mother or any sort of dependency! Without doubt it is the* Innate Idea *of this great Original, and not any Fault in the Executive Power, that makes* 'each particular 'Member of the Common-Wealth think it Lawful for him to 'intermeddle, *As you say a few Pages after.* P. 352. P. 356.

And

And truly who can blame a Man who finds himſelf not at Eaſe, *or ſo well as he would be, if he reaſſumes a Fundamental Right, a Privilege of which no Man can diveſt himſelf, and ſo ſoon as he can get more Men of his Mind to make his Party ſtrong enough,*
P. 355. *declares the* Contract broken *and that thoſe who are* no wiſer *(this a Man always ſuppoſes) and by this time no* ſtronger, than he is, have no Right to Command him; *but* that he is return'd into the full Liberty his Progenitors enjoy'd in the Free State of Nature, and that he may Act for himſelf, and take all the ways of Conſulting and Compaſſing his own Safety. *Moſt admirable Doctrine, equally true and Loyal! and is not her Majeſty infinitely oblig'd to you Sir, for ſpreading it?*

And truly were I good at making Schemes, and tracing matters up to their Original, I ſhould be apt to aſcribe the Miſcarriages of Government in a great meaſure to thoſe fine Notions which every Man takes upon him to vent without Fear or Wit. For theſe
P. 3.. *make the People Proud and Turbulent, ſo that* the Few can't Rule the Many, *and this unquietneſs in the People, puts Princes and Miniſters upon Meaſures they did not mean to take. Princes who have ſo much Power above the reſt of Mankind allow'd them by the Laws of GOD and Man, would I believe be ſatisfy'd with this Lawful Power, were not the deliciouſneſs of Arbitrary Power, ever rung in their Ears, and every little Fellow among the meaneſt of their Subjects ſetting up for it. Is there e're a Cobler that is not abſolute in his Garret, and thinks that in this he does not go beyond his Laſt? Do not all Degrees of Men Act as Arbitrarily as their Strength will ſuffer them, in their Families, their Lordſhips, Juriſdictions and Offices, and is it not then very natural for the Prince to think that he may be as Abſolute in his, whenever he is ſtrong enough to maintain his Authority? Thus the*
Diſc. on the Revenue, Pt. 1. p. 273. *Corruptions of the Feet Fume up to the Head, and Men grow ſenſible of the miſchiefs of Arbitrary Power when exercis'd upon them, but take no notice of the Evil of that which they exerciſe themſelves.*

But the truth is, Arbitrary Power how much ſoever Corrupt Nature may hanker after it, is no fine thing, 'tis a Burden no Wiſe and Good Prince would wiſh for, much leſs endeavour after, where Cuſtom and Laws do not allow it. 'Tis the taking upon himſelf an Intolerable Burden, a heavy account for the next World, and Diſtracting Cares in this, of which the Laws do very much eaſe the Prince in a well regulated Monarchy.

That

That an Usurper should endeavour after Arbitrary Power is not strange, for if he got the Crown by the Sword, the Sword must maintain it. Or if he came in by the Caprice of the People, another Humor may work upon their Levity and turn him out again; And therefore if he thought another Man's Crown worth Accepting, he may think it worth Preserving when he has it on his own Head.

But I really believe that a Prince of Probity and any tolerable Understanding, who is an Hereditary and Lawful Prince, never attempts being Arbitrary thro' his own Thirst after Power, but it is the Petulancy and Unquietness of his Subjects that puts him upon it. If they are ever struggling with their Sovereign, wresting from him all the Power he has to do them good, under pretence that he may happen to use it to their hurt; they even compel him either to give up the Government, or else to make some Vigorous Attempts to maintain his Authority.

Or if this is not the Case, then it is because the Prince does not enough attend his own Business, but suffers Evil Ministers to do Acts of Power in his Name, and under pretence of his Authority to gratifie their own Avarice or Ambition and other Passions, or to secure their Power or to Enlarge it. This is indeed the Princes Fault since it is entirely in his Power to cure it; and in such a Government as ours, the Two Houses of Parliament by Application to the Prince, or by the known and regular Methods of calling evil Ministers to an Account, may easily put a stop to these Proceedings, delivering both Prince and People out of such ill hands.

If the Prince does not see their Faults, or the Laws will not reach them, the Commons *who are the Great Inquest of the Nation, may pursue and take them from their Sanctuary, upon Just and Sufficient Grounds, and with the Gravity and Equity becoming such an Assembly, making it evident that it is the Crime and not the Person they are angry with. And that their Intention is not only to get one Man out to put another in, who, 'tis like, may act no better than his Predecessor: But that they Design to do Right to the Publick; and to warn all ill Men that they should not dare to Meddle with Business they are not fit for.*

But the Wantonness of the People arising from too much Plenty, Pride and Self-conceit, wrought up into Faction and Disrespect to their Governors, by evil Principles industriously instill'd into them, is not so easily cur'd. It usually encreases till it comes to such a height as to bring upon them the very Evil they so loudly exclaim'd against. And those who were taught to be so much afraid of the Encroachments of their Lawful Prince, as to scruple his Just and Necessary

ceſſary Power; become in a little time mere Slaves to the Arbitrary Rule of ſome of the worſt of their Fellow Subjects, thoſe Popular Demagogues who drove them into theſe pernicious ways. Of which to name no more, we had too deplorable and too recent an Inſtance in our own Civil Wars the laſt Century.

So that tho' 'tis very fit to tell Miniſters in Private what's amiſs, or even Princes themſelves if they will allow it; tho' it may and ought to be ſpoke of in a Houſe of Commons *in a Parliamentary Manner; it is by no means proper to Print Books of Miſgovernment, in a Plauſible Stile and ſpread them among the Rabble, among all who pretend to be Judges, however unqualify'd, and who are but too apt to find fault with their Superiors, with or without Reaſon. It will never make a Nation happy to offer ſuch Sophiſtical Arguments and give ſuch doubtful Characters and Deſcriptions as Peop'e may apply how they pleaſe, nor ought a Wiſe Government to endure it. For theſe are*
P. 3, 5. *the ways that make the* Vulgar grow Inquiſitive, Cenſorious and Turbulent, *hardly to be* kept within the Bounds of Duty to their Rulers.

P. 356. *But the way to ſerve our Country, and to remove* the Matter out of which Wicked and Ambitious Men create Factions in a Kingdom; *is to plant in our own Minds, and as much as we can, in the Minds of our Fellow Subjects, a Reverence for Authority. A Readineſs to excuſe the almoſt unavoidable Slips of our Governors, and a backwardneſs in Cenſuring their Meaſures, of which indeed Private Perſons are not Competent Judges, ſince they know not the Springs of Action, and it is not the Wiſeſt Counſel that is always attended with Succeſs. And I will be bold to ſay, that this Veneration for our Governors, that Reverence which is due to them, not ſo much for their own ſakes as for GOD's whoſe Deputies they are, and without which all Government muſt needs be at a ſtand, can never be preſerv'd in Mens Minds by the Principles of our Modern Politicians. Their Foundations are rotten, their Schemes are inconſiſtent, their Productions Monſtrous, and what they build with one hand they pull down with the other.*

Abſolute Power can never be free from Fault, except where it is directed by Infinite Wiſdom, however it muſt be Reverenced. But ſince Abſolute or Unaccountable Power, or which is the ſame thing, a laſt Appeal, muſt be lodg'd ſome where; otherwiſe there is, there can be, no Government, whatever Men may talk, but all is in Confuſion: Therefore the only way is for the Supreme Power wherever it is Lodg'd, to Govern it ſelf, and to take all its Meaſures according to the Direction of the Laws; which, tho' they may not be Infallible, are yet the Supreme Wiſdom of the State. And whoever builds

builds his Politicks on such a Scheme as this, will approve himself a Benefactor to Mankind; will equally provide for the Honour of the Prince and the just and wholsom Liberty of the Subject, and for the mutual Quiet, Interest and Prosperity of both. But I doubt I am gone beyond my Sphere; however, since all the World is Mad, why should not I be so?

What has been already said may suffice to shew our thoughts concerning Ministers of State, *and therefore we have but little to remark upon the* 14th *Section. Only I can't suppress my Joy to find that good Wits jump, for it seems I had blunder'd on that very place in* Machiavel *which you are pleas'd to take notice of,* p. 359. *and a little after there's another Agreement. And as* to Love their People and consult their Welfare, is in Princes the highest, and carries along with it all the other Parts of Wisdom: *So* upon the Choice Princes make of their Ministers, depends both their own, and the Felicity or Unhappiness of their Kingdoms. Moder. p. 29, 30 P. 29. & Eff. p. 363. P. 365. P. 389.

How then are Princes to chuse their Ministers? perhaps this is one of the hardest Arts of Empire, especially in some Ages, where there seems to be almost an Universal Corruption. So that a Prince tho' he has large Dominions may have so little choice of Men very wise, and very Honest, and Vertuous in all Points; that tho' he is ever so well dispos'd, and has as Royal and as Englisn *a Heart as ever any Prince was blest with, and as tenderly affected towards his Subjects; he will find it a difficult thing to meet with fit hands to Execute his Generous Intentions.*

For whether it is Fortune or Prudence that helps a Prince to a good Ministry, shall not be here argu'd; *this is certain, that it is but by Accident that he can be a good Minister who is not a good Man. He may, perhaps, have prov'd Honest hitherto, and so far as he has been Try'd; but it is only because a Temptation has not been laid in the right Place. For whenever it is apposite-ly offer'd, you can't reckon upon him; he has not a Strength of Vertue, or rather, if one may mix Divinity with Politicks, a strength of Grace, sufficient to overcome it.* P. 386.

But I take a Perfect Disinteressedness, and even a contempt of Money, to be the Cardinal Vertue of a Statesman. Voluptuousness I own does very ill suit with a Man of Business; But a Man of Pleasures will hardly seek after imployments, unless he is needy and wants a Fond to supply them. Nor will any Prince be so unwise as to Imploy him, unless he is to discharge two Offices, the Business of the State, and the Pleasures and Riots of the Palace. *Ambition is always watch'd, and if it be of the Right Sort, that is, if it leads a Man to the pursuit of truly* P. 219.

Great and Noble Ends, by Juſt and Honourable Methods, it is a Vertue in a Stateſman, neceſſary to give him Spirits, and to carry him through the Fatigue of Buſineſs. But Avarice, or the Love of Money, tho' it goes no further than that Value and Concern for Wealth, which is ſo Faſhionable, ſo Reputable, and reckon'd a point of Wiſdom by thoſe who would take it ill to be thought Covetous; even this leads us into every dirty Path. From whence we can never diſengage our Selves, but by a Generous Contempt of Riches, a readineſs to rid our hands of them as ſoon as ever we can with Bounty and Diſcretion. Love of Money is indeed a ſordid Vice, and more unbecoming a great Man than Ragged and Naſty Apparel; it enſnares him in all Treachery and Baſeneſs; 'tis an Idol to which he ſacrifices his Reputation and Honour, his Prince and Country, and even his very Soul. No Benefits, no Bounties can ſecure him, he is always at the Price of the Higheſt Bidder.

But Sir, the Miniſters whom you deſcribe p. 375, 376. and who contribute very much to root out Faction, *have none of this Blot upon them. And when none but theſe approach the Throne,*
P. 390. *Men of whoſe worth other People are ſenſible as well as themſelves;* *and who are* conſcious of a ſtock of Vertue ſufficient to bear them out in the rougheſt Storms of Fortune, and to reſiſt all the Temptations which Eminent Power may lay before them.
P. 412. *And who* do what is Right and Wiſe, without regarding which ſide is pleas'd or diſpleas'd with their Actions or Councils: *The State will be incomparably well Govern'd, and they will* at the long run, receive Univerſal Approbation. *And if they make juſt ſo much* haſt *as Neceſſity, and therefore* the Rules of Prudence *require, the* Peradventure *may be left to ſeeks its Fortune.*

There is one Omiſſion in your directions to Stateſmen, which I beg leave to ſupply, and that is concerning Benefits. Are not thoſe Complaints of Ingratitude which Great Men ſometimes make, wholly owing to their own Ill Conduct? Whether it is through Vanity and Oſtentation, or becauſe they think a Crowd of Suitors at their Levée, *is a mark of Grandeur; or whether it is to raiſe Mens expectations and the Value of the Benefit, tho' this is a very falſe Thought; or whatever may be the Cauſe, it is the general Practice to make a Man attend a tedious while for any Favour they do him. Which is certainly the very worſt Way they can take; for it loſes them all the Thanks and the Friendſhip and Service of the Perſon, whom they might have gain'd intirely, if he be a Man of Honour and worth Gaining, by a Handſom and Generous way of Obliging.*

And

And if he has Spirit, he not only thinks the Attendance they have made him pay, and all the Trouble of Soliciting too great a Price for the Favour, and ſo concludes that he has not receiv'd a Gift but bought a Purchaſe, but which is worſe, that Diſſimulation, Falſhood and Deſign, that ſort of Bargaining for your Vote or your Service, together with the Inſolence of treating Gentlemen, (who ſome little Advantages apart, are perhaps, as good as themſelves) like Valets and Foot-men, which tho' a Man may bear for his own Intereſt, yet he always Remembers and often Reſents; all this put together, makes him inſtead of a Friend become an Enemy. Thus the Great Men who beſtow their Favours ſo awkardly, not only loſe the Good Will of thoſe whom they Deny, but even of thoſe to whom they grant them. So that tho' Places and Preferments ſeldom want Receivers, yet at the Price Great Men ſet upon them, a Man of Merit will hardly be the Purchaſer.

Stand off now, and make Room for Religion and Liberty of Conſcience, *bring them in hand in hand! Alas Sir! Religion is left at the Door, ſhe can't croud in, for Liberty of Conſcience has got the Start of her. Liberty of Conſcience is the Goodlier Perſon, uſes a little Art, goes Finer, has the better Addreſs and more plauſible Eloquence. Religion is a Plain, Honeſt Matron, and this as Times go is no great Recommendation. Room there for Dame Religion who has loſt her Head-Cloaths and is almoſt tore to pieces in the Croud. Help, help! let ſome good Chriſtian run and intreat the* Houſe of Commons *to ſend their Officers to make way for her!* Sect. 11.

And now we are got to the Eleventh Section; and becauſe there is great Variety of Matter and Argument, much of that which ſome ſort of Judges may call Falſe Parts and Eloquence: *Since the Point is ſo knotty that even ſuch a Maſter as your ſelf, Sir, has left it a* Moot-Caſe *what is beſt for Religion, or in your own Phraſe* Dubious; *I will tell you how the Caſe was argued by two Worthy Gentlemen t'other day.* P. 260.

Enter *John a Nokes* and *William a Styles,* with their Company; Place your ſelves Gentlemen and liſten with Attention, and now let the Diſputants begin.

NOKES. *It is ſo plain a Truth, Gentlemen, that I need not diſplay my Eloquence to Prove,* That Princes who would keep their Governments intire and uncorrupt, are above all things to P. 218.

preſerve Religion in its Veneration. Machiavel *himſelf allows it, and* attributes all the Roman Greatneſs to the Care that was taken to Seaſon the Peoples Minds with the Notions of Religion. *And as Religion in general is neceſſary to the good Government of a State, ſo* the Religion of the Church of England is *not only* the Pureſt, *but* ſeems to agree beſt with the Nature of our Conſtitution. So that for indiſputable Reaſons of State, and by the Rules of Policy, Princes who reſpect the Preſent or Future Happineſs and Peace of their Dominions are to promote and encourage the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England, and to Countenance ſuch whoſe Zeal, and real Opinion lead them to adhere firmly to it; as having always been the trueſt Friends to the Legal Conſtitution of this Country. The Perſonal Piety of the Prince *and* his Example does indeed ſome Good, *but if he would have* it laſt, he muſt endeavour to Eſtabliſh it in the Hearts of his whole People. Not by Speeches only to amuſe the Vulgar and faint Edicts, but by obliging the Magiſtrate to put the Laws in ſtricter Execution, and by noting with the higheſt Marks of his Diſpleaſure, thoſe who lead vicious and immoral Lives, and by advancing and ſhining upon ſuch as tread in the right Paths of Vertue.

P. 217. P. 230. P. 231. P. 218. P. 225. P. 226.

STYLES. *You have diſcourſed admirably well Brother, but give me leave to ask you what you mean by* Immoralities? *and* putting the Laws in ſtricter Execution? *For you can't but know that theſe are looſe and indefinite Expreſſions, and that there are a ſort of Men who would run the* Government upon fatal Precipices, *by endeavouring to perſuade us, that it is* Hypocriſie *and Immorality for a Diſſenter to qualifie himſelf for a Place by Occaſional Conformity; and are therefore for making a* New Law, *only as they pretend, to prevent ill Mens evading the Old ones, whereby Diſſenters would be* put upon a New Foot, *and might no longer* at one and the ſame time, *have their* Liberty of Conſcience, *and yet enjoy all the* Privileges and Advantages of Engliſhmen, qualifying themſelves as the Law requires.

P. 263. P. 242. P. 244. P. 242.

NOKES. *You muſt excuſe me, Brother, if I am of thoſe Gentlemens Opinions, and take this Practice to be as groſs an Immorality and* down-right Hypocriſie *as ever was heard of among Chriſtians. A* means that Bad Men *have found out* at home, to undermine our Conſtitution, *while* Storms look Black upon us from abroad. *From whence they take occaſion to pretend the Unſeaſonableneſs of endeavouring a Redreſs, and* reſtraining *thoſe who* play faſt and looſe;

P. 241. Bail. of Power p. 44. Eſſ. p. 241.

looſe; who are not ſa'isfy'd with modeſt Terms of Liberty; and who inſtead of being upon an equal Foot with others, inſiſt for a ſtrange kind of Latitude, and to have Privileges above the reſt of their Fellow Subjects, *and who begin to* aſſert as a Right this unbounded Freedom; *too plainly declaring by* ſuch an Arrogance that they contend not for Equality but *DOMINION. Theſe Wiſe and Moderate Men, as they would be thought, do what they can to ſlam us into a Belief that a Reſtraint upon this Practice is* carefully to be avoided if we would preſerve that Union, which alone can make us Powerful abroad and Strong at Home. *And that tho' it* may be ſtrictly Juſt *not to allow Men any longer to* Undermine the Conſtitution with Impunity, *for this is ſo evident they cannot with any Face deny it, yet they pretend to make* a Queſtion how far *this may be at preſent* Prudential. *As if becauſe we are in Danger Abroad, therefore we muſt ſuffer our ſelves to be Deſtroy'd at Home! For this worthy Reaſon I ſuppoſe, that it is not ſo Honourable to fall by our Enemy's hands as by our Own!*

P. 244. P. 239. Bal. of Tr. *p.* 128. Eſſ. p. 242.

STYLES. *You are warm, Sir, and one of thoſe who* think they can never carry it on with too high a Hand, *and whoſe* miſguided Zeal *wants to be* temper'd. *For tho' your* Side is to be indulged in its juſt Pretences, it *ought* to be check'd in all its Paſſions. *And what's* at the bottom of all this? *why do you* deſire to uſe the Arms of Fleſh, *but* becauſe *you* are *not ſtrong enough* in Vertue to weild Spiritual Arms? *This is the* Original of Perſecution; *which is ſo far from* compaſſing the Ends propos'd, *that* in all Ages and in all Places, Hereticks and Sectaries have rather been encreaſed than Diminiſh'd by Perſecution. *Whereas by being* very careful to preſerve and maintain an Act of Toleration, *the Minds of the* People are ſet at quiet; *and* the Meaſures of all Separate Congregations broken. Has not Perſecution always been the ſureſt Method of reviving Zeal? *And can there be a greater Perſecution than the depriving Men of* the convenient Privilege of being of both Sides; *as they* ſee it moſt for their Profits? *Will it not occaſion* a Conjunction *between* ſuch as Malign the Church, and ſuch as Malign the Government? *and may not this be* Fatal? *and the* Conſequence of this tend to divide the Church it ſelf? As one Side deſerves Favour, *ſo* the other have a Right to Protection. *And the* Prince's Care of the Eſtabliſh'd Religion ought never to raiſe up a Spirit of Perſecution in thoſe who are favour'd and Countenanc'd. *If the* Diſſenters Sin by Hypocriſie, *what then?* there's a God to inflict his Vengeance on them. *'Tis true we are wiſer than to refer an Unjuſt Prince to GOD's Tri-*

P. 233. Dedic. P. 233. P. 234. P. 235. P. 236. P. 260. P. 252. P. 256. P. 247. P. 246. P. 233, P. 232. P. 2 2.

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bunal, but think it much better that the People ſhou'd call him to a Reckoning, whenever he has ſo little Grace as to diſpleaſe them. But our Brethren, the Diſſenters, *ought to be allow'd a greater Privilege. Not but that we* Moderate *and* Low-Church-Men *are as much of*
P. 261. *the* National Church, *and have* given as many Proofs (*you muſt not examine them too nicely*) of our firm Adherence to its Intereſt, *upon Occaſion, as the beſt of you. But we are not for a* haſty Submiſſion, not much to be depended on, *but for a* Gradual and Safer
P. 433. Advantage. *We are for* Caution *and* Slow Courſes, *which are beſt for us, whatever happens, and moſt like to rivet us. And who can blame us for ſecuring our own Stake, whatever Card is Trump, ſince* Perhaps *and* Peradventure, *this may not hurt the Church?*

NOKES. *And is this all you have to ſay? Here are Words enow, tho' I find you have only given us the Epitome and Spirit of a Great Author's late* Eſſays; *but where are the Arguments? Have you Anſwer'd a Man's Reaſons, when you have call'd him* Warm,
P. 403. *and a* High-Flyer *? and have taxed him with* Heats, *and* Indiſcre-
P. 306. tions, *and* Inconſiderate Zeal, *tho' without any manner of Proof?*

The Honour of GOD, *the Intereſt of His Church, the Service of our Prince, and the Welfare of our Country, will warrant our Zeal; and render the Narrow, Selfiſh Spirit, the Cowardice, and Trimming, and Supine Indifferency of Baſe and Treacherous Spirits, under the*
P. 46. *ſpecious Name of* Moderation, *inexcuſable. And if* what was doing from *May* 8. 1701. *made it* difficult *for a certain Author* not to run into ſome Warmth; *there are other* Epoches *that might be*
P. 47. *nam'd, when as* Audacious Attempts *have been made upon the* Publick, *and which therefore may excuſe a little Fervour.*

P. 263. *But who are thoſe Zealots that wou'd* run the Government upon fatal Precipices? *It cann't be thoſe* Gentlemen *who have ſo un-*
P. 260. *blemiſh'd and fair a* Character *for their* known Worth, Experience, Zeal, and Integrity towards the Publick, true Affection to the Ancient Conſtitution, Wiſdom, Probity and Candour. *Theſe*
P. 61. *are none of the* Leaders of Parties, *who*, whatever Shapes they put on, do not ſtrive to Heal Breaches, *but* let the Wounds widen or feſter. *Thoſe Gentlemen do not* purſue the Game of *their* own Intereſt or Ambition, *to* the Ruine of their Country:
P. 101. *Are not* dextrous to miſlead the People, *nor* at any time ready
P. 74. to ſubvert the State, or to undermine its Conſtitution. *They do*
P. 135. *not* condemn the Innocent, and acquit the Guilty, in Oppoſition
P. 338. to the State. *Nor* would involve the Commonwealth in their
This whole Page is worth the reading. Private Ruine, *or* Raviſh from Her her Honours and Prefer-ments; *nor* keep up *our* Diviſions, *only* to fight their own Battels.

tels. *They are not the Men who love* Crooked and Stony Paths, and to do by Tricks, what might better have been brought about in the plain Ways of Dealing; *Who take* Measures visibly Destructive to their Prince's Happiness and Honour; *Who* run into all his worst Inclinations, *and spoil the* Seeds of Vertue and Goodness that were in Him; *Who* Foment Divisions, *that they may* be restor'd to the Greatness from whence they are fallen, by the Aids and Voices of their Faction. *They are not* for the Profit of Foreigners, to our Ruine; are not endow'd with Intrepidity in Dangerous Councils, with the Dexterity in Deceiving, with the Audacity in Asking, with the Pliant and Supple Temper in Consenting, with the Front in Justifying False Steps; *or with* Servile Compliance, in a Place that shall be nameless; *with* Talents to Deceive the Prince themselves, *and to* suffer him to be Deceiv'd by others; *to* procure high Titles, and erect to themselves large and invidious Fortunes in Times when their Country is under Calamities. *No, the Description here made, is the Picture of such who wou'd now be thought your Moderate, your Prudent Men.* P. 187. P. 98. *Bal. of Power,* P. 83. *Ib.* P. 88.

Whereas those whom they reproach with Intemperate Zeal, *are the very Men (to go on with our Author) who made* such a Stand as prevented Universal Ruine; who *Conteſted indeed, but it was only* to promote good Government, *and who* attack'd the Corruptions of the Age with Vertuous Courage; at first by thin Squadrons, not above Eighty in Number, *and yet* this * small, but fearless Band, did for several Years so bravely Charge through the Listed Mercenaries, that at last, by having Reason on their side, and by constantly pursuing the true Interest of the Nation, they made so many Converts as to be strong enough to Defeat and Rout the Adverse Party; and 'tis to be hop'd they are now entirely Masters of the Field. P. 106. *Dedicat.* *Bal. of Power,* P. 90. * *Essay*, p. 77.

And what was it that possess'd this Small Band *with such* Undaunted Courage? *What was it that* Encreas'd their Numbers? *but the Honesty and Integrity of their Designs, their having the Constitution on their side, which is a Weight that will turn any Scale, give Honour and Advantage to all who Adhere to it, and sooner or later Ruine all who Oppose it. For unless the People* are utterly deprav'd, they *will at last* discern who they are that stir them up, and promote Popular Things, only to gratifie their own Ambitious Ends, and who it is that desires no more but to awaken them to look after their own Interest and Safety. *Essay*, p. 57

Now

Now methinks it is not hard for a Prince who is deſirous to Reform the State, *to determine which Set of Men he is to make uſe of. And for what are theſe Deſcriptions given, but* in order
Bal. of Tr. *p.* 161. to incite Good Men to watch over the Growth and Progreſs
Ib. *p.* 164. *of Faction? And to ſhew that the* ſmall Number, if they perſevere with undaunted Courage, may prevail at laſt to defeat the malice of the Corrupt Part, eſpecially when the Endeavours of a Few, are aſſiſted by a Prince diſpos'd by Intereſt and Inclination, to promote the Common Welfare. *For if* good Men were but as active and Vigilant as their Oppoſites, it would not be ſo eaſy a matter to change the Conſti-
Eſſay *p.* 77. tutions of a Country. *For* Guilt makes bad Men tremble *and*
Ballance of Trade, *p.* 164. break their Ranks, when thoſe who are concern'd in Honour and Intereſt, to have things well Adminiſtred, do reſolutely and firmly join together to oppoſe them.

Eſſ. *p.* 105. *When then are your* Temperate Councils *Neceſſary? For does*
Ball. of Tr. *p.* 178. *it not* import all good Men, to watch the very firſt Invaſions and Encroachments *upon the Conſtitution*, and betimes to in-
Eſſ. *p.* 170. tercept them in their Courſe? *For* if on one hand *the Prince* ſees *Men* deſire no more than to be well Govern'd, if on the other he perceives they deſire Miſ-Government, becauſe it makes beſt for them; *upon ſuch a* View he *ought certainly to* join with the Good by which the Bad become ſo weak a Side, that they are no longer able to diſturb Affairs. *And a*
P. 229. Church can never fail to Flouriſh, when Sovereigns by their own Principles are entirely firm to the Intereſts and Religion of the Church Eſtabliſh'd, and conſequently are enclined to Countenance thoſe who have the *TRUEST ZEAL* to
P. 131. ſupport it. *And this is the beſt* Policy *as well as the Sincereſt*
P. 132. *Religion, ſince* the Regal Authority has no other ſolid Baſis to reſt upon but the Church.

I hope therefore we ſhall hear no more of Heat *and* Intemperate Zeal. *There is not any thing indeed ſo Satyrical and Biting as Plain Truth, or ſo provoking to Ill Men, tho' it be deliver'd in the calmeſt and civilleſt Language. He is too* High *a* Church-Man *who would place the Eſtabliſh'd Church out of the reach of Factious and Sacrilegious hands! He* Flys *too* High *whoſe Wiſdom and Honeſty has rais'd him to ſuch an Eminence as enables him to*
P. 313. *diſcover and countermine thoſe* Pioneers who work in the dark to undermine the Conſtitution! *And he has no* Moderation *who is not Indifferent and Stupid enough to ſuffer Crafty Men to Circumvent him, or ſufficiently Knaviſh to help on with their Deſigns!*

As

As for what you offer upon the Topicks of Perſecution and Toleration, it is all beſides the Purpoſe. For can it be call'd Perſecution to keep ill Men out of Office? to hinder them from deſtroying the Conſtitution? Is it a conſtraint *upon their Conſciences?* P. 233 *an Invaſion of their* Natural Rights *to forbid them doing that which all ſides allow to be a* Scandalous Practice? *But if Men were not at a mighty loſs for Arguments; did they not depend more upon their Clamours than their Reaſons, or had they any regard to Truth; and were it not a caſt of their Office* to give every thing a falſe Turn, *they would be aſham'd of naming ſuch groundleſs and ſo often refuted Objections; and till they have anſwer'd what Sir* Humphry Mackworth *has ſo admirably well writ upon this Subject, they ought not in reaſon to teize us any more with theſe Impertinencies. But it is well ſaid by a Writer of* another Form *that* Men do as induſtriouſly contrive Fallacys to deceive themſelves (when they have a mind to be deceived) as they ſtudy Frauds whereby to deceive others.

Tom. Double, Part I. p. 40.

Ballance of Trade, p. 129. *Pray conſult it.*

STYLES. *But hark you, Sir, tho' there is no Infraction of their* Toleration Act *nor any* Perſecution *intended them; it being very poſſible* to make Affection in the Prince to the Eſtabliſh'd Church and Liberty of Conſcience conſiſt together; *yet* Imaginary Fears often diſturb Mens Minds, as much as a real Danger. *And if your Neighbour has a ſtrong Conceit, that by ſecuring your own houſe againſt Thieves, you make it a* Cittadel *to attack him, why ſhould you not only ſhun an* eſſential Infraction *of good Neighbourhood,* but *even* what looks like it, *and ſo leave open your doors, and take what follows,* to keep a Jealous *Perſon* quiet?

P. 233. P. 242. P. 242. P. 240.

NOKES. *A very notable Argument! but is it not double edg'd? For what if the Church-Men have their* Jealouſies *and* Fears, *eſpecially ſince we are told that Diſſenters have a* Fortreſs, *and are ſo tender of their Rights that they will not endure any thing that has the leaſt appearance of a* Bridle? *Muſt nothing be done to* quiet *the Church, and to ſecure it from the Diſſenters* Encroachments? Should *not* Things be mannag'd with ſuch Caution and Candor towards *thoſe, who are confeſs'd to be the greateſt and beſt part of the Nation, as* that they *may* not have Reaſon to urge that they are obliquely Injur'd or hurt by a ſide-Wind? *Tho' they can be under no apprehenſions in this Reign, ſince her Majeſty's Judgment as well as her Intereſt tyes her to the Church; yet what can be the Reaſon of that violent Oppoſition that is made to the Security the Commons have ſet their hearts upon? by thoſe who if they*

P. 242. P. 240.

P. 358. *pleas'd might carry it? What will they infer from hence but that reſpect is had to the* Future Condition of things? *That a Time is expected in which ſuch a Security as this may be diſagreeable? And therefore they who are ſo wiſe as not only to enjoy the Preſent but to lay up for the Future, defeat our Meaſures, and will not allow us what we take to be* abſolutely neceſſary. *And may not ſuch Fears as theſe be as troubleſome as any the Diſſenters can have? and as fit to be preſented?*

P. 233. *Eſpecially ſince we have the Conſtitution on our ſide; and have Reaſon and Juſtice and all the Right in the World to ſupport our Fair and Equitable Demands, which are ſo far from* paſſing the bounds of Reaſon, *that they go no further than what we have been ſo often told is a Fundamental Right which we cannot loſe, Self-Preſervation. Such as join with us have a Support that may be depended on; but ſuch as ſeek to diſappoint us by Tricks and Artifices, do but ill conſult their own Intereſt.*

Ball. of Trade, P. 8. *For tho' they may keep us off for a while, yet Men* who Act upon Principles are not eaſily diſheartned; *they will in the End be too hard for their Oppoſers, who will find when it is too late, that they have only drawn upon their own Heads a weight that will infallibly cruſh them.*

P. 243. STYLES. *Ay, but great* Animoſities *may riſe* from ſmall Punctilioes, *a Man* may *refuſe me his Hat, which is* a thing perhaps in its own Nature Indifferent, *this is* improv'd by wicked Arts *into a Quarrel, to Murder and ſo forth! So theſe Diſputes between the Church and the Diſſenters,* may raiſe Heats, may bring the Acute humours to Float, *it* may *do this, and it* may P. 240. *do t'other, and what* may *be the Conſequence? Beſides,* Indulgent Laws to Subjects, Reſemble Treaties between Prince and Prince, *and you know how nicely theſe ought to be obſerv'd.*

P. 243 NOKES. *I never knew till now that the Diſſenters and the Government were upon a Level, diſtinct States, and ſuch as enter into* Articles *and* Treaties of Peace! *Much leſs could I have thought that if the Queen grants a Pardon to a Felon, ſhe Covenants with him that no body ſhall take notice the next time he ſeems to attempt his Neighbour's houſe! But to what wretched ſhifts are Men driven, when they condeſcend to ſuch ſtuff as this, which is ſcarce worth Laughing at, much leſs worth Anſwering, and what an Affront do they put upon their Neighbours Underſtandings! and I begin to think that their Strength is as contemptible as their reaſons.*

P. 348. STYLES. *I grant you, Sir, that to* contemplate them in their proper Forms and Ranks, *they are not very conſiderable.*

For

For they have in Communion with them none of the Nobility, and but few among the Gentry, and not many ſubſtantial Free-holders, and but a few of the Rich Merchants. However, they ſeem very far from being deſpicable as wanting Numbers. *For you are to know, that they have* not a few of the Female Sex, more Sea-faring Men, likewiſe very many Tradeſmen, or Retailers, Artificers, Manufacturers and Day-Labourers, and in theſe Multitudes their chief ſtrength conſiſts. *Now you muſt conſider that theſe Tradeſmen are moſtly employ'd by the* Female Sex, *and if the Ladies ſhould put themſelves in the Head of* theſe Multitudes, *what a formidable Inſurrection would it make! What a ſhock would it give the Throne! and how Fatal might the Conſequences prove! The very leaſt would be the hindrance of the next Campaign, and we muſt be forc'd to ſend for our Army that ought to aſſiſt our Confederates, to ſuppreſs this Inſurrection at home! Beſides, there are among them ſome* of the Men of Profeſſions, *ſuch* as Law and Phyſick, *who no doubt, will Harrangue the Mobb, and work them up with their* inflaming Oratory, *Poetry, Eſſays, and what not, till Diſcord has brought it to ſuch a Fray, as was not many years ago at the* Diſpenſary! *And ſhould the Gally-pots, Law-Books, Recipe's, Chancery Bills, Attorneys and Apothecaries* Items, *and ſuch like Inſtruments of Deſtruction, more fatal than Bullets and Gun-powder fly about our Ears, alas! what will become of us, we are an undone Nation! eſpecially ſhould ſome unlucky Amazon ſeize the Fleet, for as I ſaid, they* ' have a large Proportion among the ' Seamen! *You know how hard it was for the Men to recover their Dominion from the famous* Ulaſta, *or as ſome call her,* Valaſca *of* Bohemia, *even when ſhe had none but Female Troops. I'll tell you the Story becauſe it is not common;* Lybaſſa *Queen of* Bohemia, *and Wife to* Premiſlaus, *having at her Death bequeath'd the Command of the Caſtle of* Lybus *and her Companions, to* Ulaſta *who had been her Maid of Honour; this Lady who had a good deal of Spirit and Courage, form'd a deſign to ſeize on the Soveraignty. To which purpoſe ſhe inſpir'd her Women with a great Contempt for the Men, and a ſtrong Reſolution to throw off their Yoke. She exercis'd and inur'd them to Labour, and the Fatigues of War, as if they had been Educated in* Plato's *Common-wealth, and gain'd many conſiderable advantages during a Seven Years War. So that the State aſtoniſh'd at her Victories, had yielded to her if* Premiſlaus *had not laid a Snare for her, ſo ſhe periſh'd unhappily and all her Amazons.*

Except the Ld. W. of P. and it may be another.

P. 249.

P. 243.

P. 248.

Dubravii Hiſt. Bohe. apud Repub. des Lett. Feb. 1688.

Tacitus, *A.* 1. *S.* 63. *Did not* Agrippina *the Wife of* Germanicus *oppoſe her Courage to the Cowardice of the Men, and in the time of a great Conſternation among the* Roman *Troops diſcharge all the Duties of a General? Review the Legions, march amidſt the* Roman *Enſigns, make Donatives to the Soldiers, having more Authority in the Army than all the Generals, for ſhe appeas'd a Mutiny, where the Name of the Emperor had been of no Conſideration? Thus* Mary *of* Lalain, *Princeſs of* Epinoy, *and the Lady* De Balagny *performed the Duty both of a Captain and of a Private Soldier. This laſt viſited the Centinels night and day, obſerved the Batteries, wrought on the Fortifications, diſcharg'd the Canon, with Pike in hand brav'd the* Spaniards, *and would not hear of a Capitulation, and had ſav'd the City of* Cambray, *but that her Husband's Tyranny over it had rendred him odious.*

See the Notes on Tacit. *V.* I. *p.* 133.

See Dr. Geddes. *in his* Miſc. Tracts, *p.* 309, *&c.* *What ſhall I ſay of* Donna Maria *Wife to* Padilla, *who when her Husband was beheaded, reſolutely ſupported the Cauſe of the Commons, defended* Toledo *againſt all Threats and Promiſes, telling them that ſhe did not care to Out-live the Liberties of her Country. And was not to be overcome till the Clergy buz'd into the Peoples Ears that ſhe was a Witch; and when her Houſe was aſſaulted ſhe ſcorn'd to Capitulate; but eſcaping to* Portugal, *was too ſtout to make any Applications to the Emperor or his Miniſters for Pardon.*

Hiſt. de Phil. de Valois. Margaret *Counteſs of* Monfort *that Wife and Courageous Princeſs, by her own Heroic Vertue, rais'd her Husband's Party when it was*

Grants and Reſump. *p.* 79. *almoſt ruin'd, and ſuſtained it againſt a King of* France. Mæſa *conquer'd the Emperor* Macrinus, *and plac'd her Grandſon on the Imperial Seat. And to name no more, for Inſtances are endleſs,*

Tacit. *A.* 14, *S.* 31, *&c.* *our moſt Noble* Boadicia *begins her Speech to her Army with telling them,* ' That this was not the firſt time the *Britains* had been Victorious under the Conduct of their Queens; *and concludes,* ' That they ſhould reſolve either to Conquer or Die in ' the Field, this was a Woman's Reſolution; and the Men if ' they pleas'd might ſurvive and live in Slavery.

Eſſ. *p.* 249. *Well!* Having thus rang'd our Diſſenters in their ſeveral Degrees, let us conſider them in their Perſons, as their Perſons may have Relation to their reſpective Circumſtances. As in our Church, ſo in their Congregations, there are both Good and Bad. *There's a Diſcovery for you! Who could have thought that there was among them* both Good and Bad! *it could never have entred into my Head, tho' all the World knows it is none of the Dulleſt, if the famous* Eſſay upon Peace and War, *had not only laid it down for a Maxim, but been at the pains to prove it! But*

p. 250. *will the Bill bring over the Good? Not at all, Sir; 'twill only help us*

to

to the Bad, and these we may have without it. 'Tis true, the Purest in any Sect may be well enough pleas'd with Power, *for it is a most delicious Morsel. But will they* prostitute their Consciences to attain it? *No indeed, for Honest Men are always above* Worldly Interest. Among the Bad there may be a Plentiful Harvest, and they will all of them by degrees be for creeping into the Bosom of the Church, *(you remember the Fable of the Good Man and the Snake)* so that they may be warm and well nourish'd in it. Such as have no true Sense of Religion, meer Hypocrites, whose Pretended Godliness is no more than Singularity and Pride will croud in a-pace, *you'll have more* Proselytes *than you'll have* Offices *to bestow upon them. And since your Design is to keep these Men out, which you see cant be done, pray what's your Bill good for?*

NOKES. *I see, Brother* Styles, *You're resolved to gain your Cause, for what is wanting in Argument you make up in Words and Stories. But to answer you as well as I can. I confess I have always thought that the Ladies ought to be admonish'd that it was very ill done of them to Cabal against the Government especially in a Lady's Reign. What can be their Design in it? What do they Aim at? to get Preferments? to be admitted to the Board? and to Command in our Armies and Fleets? It was therefore most Politickly* P. 200. *done in a famous Author to advise the Government not to be talk'd out of Places and Preferments by these* noisy *Women. And indeed if the Young and the Handsom, the Witty and the Gay, the Intriguing and Politick Ladies are all on the Factious Side; and only the Old and the Ugly, the Praying and the Women of Thought, are on the other, the former without Controversie will have much the stronger Party, and greatest number of Followers; And alas what shall the Government do? its Friends are not an equal Match!*

But be it so that the Dissenters and the Ladies at the Head of P. 25, 255. *them,* if they do not scatter are a formidable Body. *That they keep together to make a* Figure *(this is the Ladies Delight,) and* whoever has a Mind to disturb the State will always Court them. *We have however this Consolation, that when Women* surmount Difficulties, *or do any thing notable, it is* with a Mind above their Sex, *and none whether Men or Women, can for any considerable Time Act above themselves.* Nor is it prudent in any Party to entertain such high Thoughts of their own Strength as to slight Moderation. *Besides, the Ladies are* inclin'd to pity, *they are not of* an unforgiving Temper, *but will treat their* Enemies *well when they have subdued them. And if they keep to their Principles,*

P. 180. P. 147. P. 146, 423.

P. 245. *it ſhould be* 255.

Principles, they will probably come at laſt to an Opinion, *thoſe eſpecially that practiſe Phyſick among their Country Neighbours*, that

P. 256. Stronger Remedies may ſtir up, and yet not carry off bad Humours, which is dangerous in Politick, as it is in Natural Bodies, and that Time and Moderation are the beſt Phyſicians in this Caſe. *And by the way, this is an admirable Argument againſt all Preventive Phyſick, ſo that if we can but ſpread it among the Doctors, it may go near to take them off from the Ladies Party.*

P. 250. *And as for the Bad, of whom you ſay we ſhall have a* plentiful Harveſt, *I was a little ſhy of them at firſt, till the worthy Mr.*

2d Part, p. 18. Double *told me, that we ſhould not* like a Man a jot the worſe for

See alſo Ball. of Trade, p. 153. any of his former Actions, when he concurs with us heartily in what we are doing at that Inſtant. *And that* if Lucifer would but name himſelf of our Party, we ſhould forgive his Apoſtacy and take him in with us. *And it is eaſie to refer you to more and*

Ed. p. 245. [that is 255. *greater Authorities. But after all, I am afraid that* the Bad, who in all Perſuaſions and Sects are the Majority, *will ſlip from between our Fingers, for* peradventure *they will* argue; and whoever weighs well in his Mind the Perſons and their Circumſtances [*taking care to hold the Ballance even*] *will probably come at laſt to an Opinion*, [*obſerve how Cautiouſly theſe Men proceed*] that the new Remedy propos'd will be apter to nouriſh than cure the Diſeaſe. And ſo their Intereſt will make them more obdurate in their Schiſm, *and all our fine hopes of bringing them over are vaniſh'd! Unleſs this between Friends be the Meaning of thoſe Double Arguments, You ſhall have them if that will hinder the Bill; or you ſhall not have them, if this is more like to do it.*

But whilſt they were thus diſputing, a Lady in the Company having obtained Audience, 'Whatever other Arts, ſays ſhe, *you Gentlemen may excel in, methinks you have not given your ſelves much trouble in ſtudying the Art of* Decorum *and good Manners, ſince in a Lady's Reign, and even in Books that you Dedicate to Her Majeſty,*

P. 364. *you take upon you to tell the World that* in this Kingdom no more Skill, no more Policies are requiſite, than what may be comprehended by a Woman. *As if there were* any *Skill*, any *Policy that a Woman's Underſtanding could not reach! So again, if Women do any thing well, nay ſhould a hundred thouſand Women do the Greateſt and moſt Glorious Actions, preſently it muſt be* with a

P. 180. Mind *(forſooth)* above their Sex! *Now if Women be ſuch deſpicable Creatures, pray what's the plain* Engliſh *of all your fine Speeches and Dedications to her Majeſty, but* Madam we mean to Flatter you?

you? *But I would gladly be inform'd how many Men there are that Act above their Sex, or even equal to it?*

They pretend to preſcribe Meaſures *to Her Majeſty to tell Her what is* Right and Safe, *and what her* Gracious Wiſdom and Noble Compaſſion *ought to do. As if ſhe were not much better able to diſcern what is fit for Her to do, than theſe Wiſe Men are to inform Her? Nay which is more, they preſume to talk of ſome* who are waiting for the Royal Judgment in their Favour, which Side ſhall be the Conſtitution. Be the Conſtitution! *Why all the World, and even we Women know very well, that* England *is not now to Chuſe what ſhall* Be the Conſtitution, *but honeſtly and vigorouſly to Maintain that which* is ſo. *At leaſt till theſe great Politicians have thought fit to inform us what is wanting to its Perfection, ſince tho' ſome time ago it was* ' one of the beſt Conſtitutions that ' was ever ſet on foot for the well Governing a People, *yet now they tell us it is* far from being Perfect. *And ſince the making New Laws is ſo offenſive to them, and in their Opinion the Preſcription of* State Empericks, *I hope they will alſo be pleas'd to let us know, by what New* Ways and Means *they deſign to make it Perfect.*

Dedicat.

Ibid.

Bal. of Tr. *p.* 161

Eſſay, *p.* 194.

P. 33.

Tho' you Gentlemen are the Hiſtorians, yet give a Woman leave to ſay, that neither your Trajans, *your* Conſtantines, *your* Theodoſius's, *&c. nor any of your Male-Princes, deſerve loftier Panegyricks than her Majeſty, or will make a Nobler Figure in Hiſtory, if Men's Envy do but do her Juſtice. But her Royal Name is Prophan'd by ſuch polluted Pens, as ſcatter their Incenſe indifferently upon every Altar. He that could ſay* a Prince was fear'd for his Courage, admir'd for his Wiſdom, and belov'd for the good he had done his People; * *That he* was Willing and Able to correct the Abuſes of the Age; † *That* there was no Good which might not be expected from his Wiſdom and Reſolution; *That he did a world of fine things which they who care to know, may look for in a Noted Author*; *And that* though we were ſafe under his Reign, yet in after Ages, Bad and Deſigning Miniſters might do *I know not what to deſtroy us. And yet as ſoon as the poor Prince was gone to his Place (for Dead Men do not bite) ſhall be as loud in his Complaints of* Speeches againſt Vice and Immorality only to amuſe the Vulgar, and faint Edicts forgotten as ſoon as Publiſh'd; Neglect of Trade, general Profuſions, alienating Crown Lands, Spoils made upon the Publick, Conteſts to carry on bad Government, waſt of Treaſure, Mean Arts of Indulging Subjects in Follies; a continued Series of Miſmanagement; and in a Word,

D' Avenant *upon* Grants & Reſump. *p.* 25.

* P. 17.

† P. 20.

Ib. *p.* 21.

Bal. of Trade, *p.* 128. & *p.* 135.

Eſſ. *p.* 226.

Dedicat.

word, ſuch a Conduct as will ever enflame the Minds of Men, and incite all true Lovers of their Country to exert their utmoſt Strength in its Reſcue, and to make a ſtand to prevent Univerſal Ruin: *which when time was he could ſay, was* not at all the Preſent Caſe of England. *But whether he was then in the Right or now, is none of my Buſineſs to enquire; this is certain, that a Man who can blow Hot and Cold, accuſe a Prince when dead,* of Endeavours to keep up a great Land Force, in Times of Peace; and *claw with him when Living, for having* given ſuch a Demonſtration of his Goodneſs, *as* his ſo chearfully Disbanding his Army at the Requeſt of his Parliament; *That could ſee nothing* to depend upon but the Reputation, Merits and Vertue of the King, nothing elſe to hold and bind us together, ſo that when he muſt yield to Nature (which Misfortune he hop'd was very diſtant from us) in all humane Probability, nothing was to be expected but Confuſion and Civil War; *tho' every body that ſaw with* Engliſh *Eyes, or that had* Engliſh *Hearts, had quite a different View and Hope of Things: That could tell us we* had upon the Throne a Prince fear'd and reverenc'd abroad, and Idoliz'd here, *even* the Redeemer of England; *and what can be ſaid more of any of his Succeſſors? or does not the Cookery fail in the ſecond dreſſing? This indeed is certain and very evident, that a Man of this Faſhion, ſuch an* oily Paraſite, *has no regard to Truth but only to what is uppermoſt. And the Glories of a Vertuous Prince, that ought only to be trac'd by Unpolluted Pens, are ſullied by his Pretending to celebrate them. Who can only be rank'd among* that Mercenary and Unconſtant Crew of the hunters after Preferment; who can ſee no faults in a Great Man while he preſerves his Poſt Power and Favour, and will allow him no Vertues or Perfections when his Fortune Changes. Men whoſe Deſigns are always ſeen thro', who are deſpis'd as ſoon as known, and who only lead one another.

Ballance of Trade, p. 147.

Dedic.

Grants and Reſump. p. 22, 23.

Ballance of Trade, p. 144.

See to the ſame purpoſe, Ib. p. 175.

Ibid p. 145.

Ib. 153.

Eſſ. p. 379.

Grants, &c. p. 25.

Eſſ. 385.

Grants &c. p. 25.

If therefore theſe Men would leave Her Majeſty to Her own *Superior Judgment, and the Integrity of Her* own Engliſh Heart, *would they let Her exert Her Self, according to Her own Good Senſe, Right Principles, and Generous Inclinations, with that undaunted Courage and Royal Magnanimity, that has never been wanting to thoſe Ladies that have adorn'd the Engliſh Throne, I make no queſtion but we ſhall be a moſt Happy People, and the Envy of all our Neighbours. But if they will be Medling, Adviſing, Triming, and Perplexing the Caſe, I know not what will come of us.*

Only

Only I comfort my ſelf in this, that Her Majeſty will give them full Demonſtration, that there's nothing either Wiſe, or Good, or Great that is above Her Sex.

The Men began to ſtare upon each other, and having ſilenc'd the Lady with ſome difficulty, Mr. Styles *went on: The Lady has ſome Reaſon on her Side, and I have often thought, (and there is nothing in the Common Law againſt it,) but being Ignorant in the Civil Law, I durſt not venture to Propoſe, that the only way to make* England *Happy, is by Enacting an* Anti-Salique Law, *entailing the Crown, I mean, upon the Females. I intend to mention it to the great Dr.* D'Avenant, *and beſeech him to produce his Reaſons, Authorities and Examples in his Second Part. For I make no queſtion but that this crude thought of mine improv'd by his Noble Genius, may be a laſting Bleſſing to theſe Nations. And it is certainly more* neceſſary *for him firſt to look at* home, P. 1. and more Service to the Publick, *than to waſt himſelf in Set-* P. 7. *tling the* Succeſſion of the Spaniſh Monarchy. *For before he has done this to purpoſe, King* Charles *III. will have left our Coaſt and be out of hearing.*

Nor is it improbable *but that ſuch a Law as this may charm the Diſſenters, who you know Love Novelties, and have had great Influence over the Female Sex, ever ſince St.* Paul *wrote to* Timothy. *At leaſt 'tis a Subject unblown upon, and the Dr. will be ſure to ſay what no body has ſaid before him, a Privilege few Authors can boaſt of. 'Tis* dubious *whether ever we may have a good King hereafter, for among 26 that have ſat upon the Throne ſince the Conqueſt, there are not many that our Learned Hiſtorians will allow to be Good Ones. Whereas 3 of our 4 Queens have been the Glory of the Nation, and the Delight of their People, ſo that we have three to one, nor was the fourth ill in her own Temper, but as ſhe was influenc'd by her Popiſh Clergy.*

NOKES. *Good Mr.* Styles *let us leave theſe Fancies and come to a Concluſion of our Debate, for I dare ſay the Company are by this time very weary of it; how ſhall we make up this matter?*

STYLES. *O Sir, there's nothing like* Compounding, *eſpecially for Men who are Modeſt and not over confident of their Cauſe. If the warm Gentlemen will but be content with fine words and Complements, if they will* liſten to Terms of Moderation, P. 263. *that is, be quiet and tame, without making any Inquiry about the Aſſaults that are made upon the Conſtitution, why then they are honeſt Men and our very good Friends. But if* they think they

P. 106. have not Conquer'd unleſs they Triumph; *if they* drive things to Extremity, *that is in plain* Engliſh *if they ſecure the Conſtitution in ſuch a Manner as to cut off all hopes of our being able hereafter to* Perfect *it; we know what to ſay to them, it is but labouring hard to tug the* Sovereign weight into the other Scale, *and we carry our Point. And as for the Gentlemen who have formerly* been in Poſts, *which has* procur'd them *many* followers
P. 112. P. 114. and Adherents, *if they will be content* to be obſcurely ſafe, *they ſhall*
P. 112. *have* Impunity *at Preſent, and at laſt be* invited to conſent with others in Meaſures for the Common Safety. *And becauſe* it is
P 260. at leaſt Dubious, *whether* ſuch a Reſtraint upon Diſſenters *as has been propos'd* will do Good or Hurt, *we will let them alone a while, to try what they would be at. For theſe poor Men ne-*
P. 246. P. 242. P. 252. *ver think of* ſtriking up Leagues, *till the Severities of the Government, the putting them* upon a new Foot, taking from them the Convenient Privilege they have to be of both Sides, *has*
P. 239. *forc'd them to theſe* New Councils. *But if it ſhall* hereafter become Apparent that the Diſſenters affect Superiority over the Eſtabliſh'd Church; *why, this will bring the Devil-and-all upon*
P. 244. *them. Even we Moderate Men, will join with the Warm Ones to reduce them. But then you muſt take care, that this be very* Apparent, *you muſt not take Heats and Animoſities, Caballing, Seditious Pamphlets and the like for Proof, but ſtay till you have as clear Demonſtration of it as they gave you in* 1648.

Now whilſt Nokes *and* Styles *were diſcourſing thus gravely, up ſtarts a Wag and crys, enough good Gentlemen, you have given us many exact Deſcriptions of we know who. The Offenders are*
P. 244. *already ſo bold and ſo daring as to* Contend for Dominion, *for what elſe can they contend for when every thing elſe is allowed them?*
P. 120. *And* therefore it is a plain Caſe, that the ſtrongeſt Remedies are to be apply'd, and all Legal Methods taken that may conduce to our Preſervation. The Government, *GOD be thank'd, has enow on its ſide,* whom Intereſt, Inclination, or their Duty, link together in its Defence; *and* if they who have the Power and hold the Reins, have *but* Courage *to join with them and* face the Danger, *if they are* not ſo diſarm'd by their own Fears, that they are neither in a Poſture to Oppoſe their Enemies, nor to Protect their Friends, it will not be Difficult to defeat their Deſigns who deſire to diſturb its
P. 194. Peace. Nature is ſtill ſtrong within us, able to exert it ſelf and work its own Cure, *if we do not fooliſhly throw up the Opportunity we have now in our hands. And ſince the* Struggles

of

of Faction are *always for* Power, *not* one way *but the only way* of putting an End to them, is, to order Affairs, that the Offices, Employments and Dignities of the State may be the Rewards of Merit, and not the Prize of this or that Party; and the taking away the matter Contended for *will be found the moſt effectual means* towards quieting Contention. *But I hope nobody will have the face to deny, that thoſe who have a ſteddy Affection to the Conſtitution* Merit *moſt from it. No Man needs be aſham'd to liſt himſelf under its* Banner, *for this is not being of a Party, and the more* obſequiouſly *he walks* under it, *ſo much the more does he recommend himſelf to the favour of that Prince who* Reſolves *to* Rule well, *who* cheriſhes *his* People and Loves his Native Country. *And to ſhut all other Men out of the Adminiſtration, will be a certain Cure for Faction, and all the Diſorders it occaſions and the only effectual one. For——— But hold, ſays another, and pulls him by the Sleeve, there's a* Perhaps, *a* Probability *and a* Peradventure *to the contrary. Nay, then ſays the Spark very briskly, we ſhall never have done, but argue on to Eternity to ſhew our Talents, and ſo* Adieu. P. 373.

Upon this a Perſon of great Candor and Temper, took upon him to conclude the Buſineſs. Gentlemen, ſays he, you have harangu'd very famouſly, but if you will allow a plain Man who cannot talk Artificially, but who will make up in honeſty what he wants in Learning, to adviſe in this matter, I would have you refer it to the extraordinary Dr. D'Avenant, *and if he is not to be ſpoke with, pray take his late* Eſſays, *and in* p. 237. *you'll find an admirable Temper, ſuch as Wiſe and Good Men take to be the only expedient, and the only way to obtain* Peace at Home *and Victory Abroad. It is the Example of* Henry *III. of* France, *who* abated the Rigour of the Laws *againſt his Diſſenting Subjects, but* gave them to underſtand, that as they were to fear no Hurt, ſo they were to expect no Favour from him. He ſhut them out from the Management of Affairs by a General Care in the Executive Power: He took none of that Perſuaſion into Familiarity, or the Service of his Houſhold. He excluded them from all Offices of the Crown, the Revenue, Courts of Juſtice, Governments of Provinces and Places, and from all Employments in the Army. *And had he gone on with this Method he had* in a ſhort time reduc'd his whole Kingdom to one Religion. *And, ſays the Gentleman, tho' we are ſure of the Executive Power in this Reign, and that for the Good of the People it would readily take this Method, yet ſince we can't be ſure of this always,*

it may be Neceſſary for the Legiſlature to take it into Conſideration.

The Company were extremely pleas'd with this Expedient and ſo they broke up, ſome promis'd to carry it to the Lords *and others to the* Commons; *That if they in their Wiſdoms ſhould think fit to tender a Bill to her Majeſty to* Prevent Occaſional Conformity, *which is juſt the ſame thing as* Henry III's *Method, the Church might know what Obligations She had to Dr.* D'Avenant *for contributing ſo much to ſo good a Work.*

Bal. of Tr. *p.* 129. *To ſay all in a Word, if Faction is moſt ruinous to a Nation, and ought above all things to be ſuppreſs'd*; If all that Wealth and Power which muſt defend this State upon any Emergencies or Invaſions from abroad, depends upon our preſerving inviolate the ancient Conſtitution of this Kingdom; *and that ſo long as this is* preſerv'd, *tho'* bad Men may have a ſhort Power to do Miſchief, their Rage and Folly will be at laſt corrected, *as you, Sir, and every body allows: Then, if we mean to have either Peace and good Government at Home, or good Succeſs abroad, we ought to place the ſtrongeſt Fences about the Conſtitution.*

Ib. P. 136.

And if the Proſperity of a Nation does ſo much depend upon the Executive Power, *and an Honeſt and Vigorous Adminiſtration of the Laws; which no body doubts, and which you have taken ſo much pains to prove; If Laws can never be well Executed but by thoſe who approve them, nor a Government well Adminiſtred but by thoſe who like the Conſtitution, which is ſo plain that it needs no Proof; And if a* Corrupt, Supine, *or* a puzzel'd, *unſteady* Management, *may be introduc'd by the* Negligence *even of little* Officers, *and that* the Publick can never have a firm Exiſtence, unleſs all the different Ranks of Men co-operate to its Preſervation, not faintly, but with the utmoſt Spirit and Vigour; *as in one of your Diſcourſes you undertake to prove: Then Care muſt be taken to keep all ſuch out of the Adminiſtration in any of its Branches, who are Enemies to, or who do not heartily Love the Conſtitution.*

Diſc. on the Rev. Part 1. p. 157.

Ib. *p.* 271.

Bull. of Tr. *p.* 202. *Again, if it is the Duty of ſuch as Repreſent the People* carefully to watch Encroachments upon the Conſtitution, to make Proviſion againſt Future Evils, *and* to provide againſt Bad Reigns under a Good one; *and that the* Legiſlature *can never be charg'd with* aſſuming the Executive Power, *when it only* intermeddles *with what is* omitted, *or what is* too ſtrong to be encountred by the Subordinate Parts of Government; *If* a People will certainly beſt Love and Defend that Prince by whom the moſt good Laws have been granted; *If* Ordinary Methods prevail but little

Eſſ. p. 299.

P. 348.

Bal. of Tr. *p.* 230.

Ib. *p.* 188.

little againſt Stubborn and inveterate Diſeaſes; *and* therefore *when* our Affairs are in diſorder, the Legiſlative Authority can bring the Effectual Help to ſet us Right; *they are your own Words, and* beſides *you are* fully convinc'd that the Courage of an *Engliſh* Parliament is able to face any Danger, and that its Wiſdom is ſufficient to extricate the Government from any Difficulties; *And ſince our Dangers and Difficulties are too plain to be deny'd, Faction is Flaming, and the Conſtitution is undermined; then a New Law cannot be Improper or Unreaſonable, but* Abſolutely Neceſſary. *The Bill propos'd, excludes none from Employments but thoſe who* would Innovate in Divine, and who in worldly matters meant to Govern Corruptly. *And it is not* Caleb Caſe-hardned, *I ſuppoſe, Sir, that the Oppoſers of this Bill would prefer to an Office. Your* Friend Caleb *who* has rais'd a Fermentation among the Diſſenters, *by riding* Poſt through all the Kingdom, *to* fright thoſe of the Separation out of their Wits, *by telling them the Bill has a Deſign upon* Liberty of Conſcience. *Whereas the poor Bill has no Meaning, but to employ Men who are agreeable both to Prince and People; for ſince neither of them have any thing to depend on but the Conſtitution, conſequently the Friends of the Conſtitution, are the only Men that can be* look'd upon and truſted by both.

Diſc. on the Rev. *Part* I. p. 64.

Eſſ. *p.* 222.

Tom. Double, *Part* 2d. *p.* 16.

Eſſ. p. 374.

Further, if nothing is ſo pernicious as Flattering Remedies, which may skin the ſore over for the preſent, but leave it to rankle and feſter within; *If* Men of *a certain* Stamp when they have got all they can, think to be forgiven by changing Sides; and that it will be time enough to become good Patriots when they are no longer ſuffer'd to hurt the Commonwealth; and that the Arms of the Publick have been but too open to embrace ſuch Penitents; *If* the Legiſlature *is* to leave no Fault, Vice, or Crime unconquer'd when once aſſaulted; *if it is* falſe Cunning, *and a Sign that Men have a* Mind to overthrow the Laws, to encourage Parties underhand, and *to* keep them equally poiz'd, *and that theſe* fine ſpun Policies have undone *ſome Princes*; *If* Schiſms in Religion help to heighten Faction; and each Sect retains its firſt Hopes which were to have the upper-hand at laſt; *(they are your own Words again,) and conſequently nothing but what deſtroys this Hope can make them quiet; and that how ſtrong ſoever they be, they are an* unequal Match to cope with the Power of a Well Eſtabliſh'd Government; *So that we need not be afraid of any Oppoſition the Faction can make, becauſe when a* Great *Prince* joyns with the Good, (*as you tell us he certainly will*

Diſc. on the Rev *Part* I. *p.* 63.

Bal. of Tr. *p.* 193

Eſſay, p. 349.

P. 324.

P. 364.

P. 228.

P. 221.

P. 154.

P. 179.

will at his firſt Acceſſion to the Throne) the Bad become ſo weak a Side, that they are no longer able to diſturb Affairs; *does it not follow from hence that neither the Executive Power, nor the Legiſlature can poſſibly provide a better, or more effectual or more ſeaſonable Remedy for all our Diſorders, or a greater Support to the Conſtitution, nor conſequently do any thing more conducive to the Intereſt both of Prince and People than by Enacting a Law to* Prevent Occaſional Conformity.

P. 373, 3 4. *For* Preferring Bad Men *is that which renders forming of Parties unavoidable; and what Men can be worſe or more dangerous in* Proceedings of the Lords. *Publick Poſts, than thoſe whoſe* Practices *are* ſcandalous? *ſo ſay the moſt Honourable the Lords,* Perſons of abandon'd Principles, Eſſay, p. 251. to whom Religion is Indifferent, and whom Intereſt can carry to a Church, which they ſay is full of Errors? *ſo ſays Dr.* D'Avenant. *And if the Dr's Law, his Knowledge of our Conſtitution, and Computations of our Strength will bear him out, he gives a very ſufficient Reaſon why the* Lords *ſhould Agree to that Bill which the* Commons *have already Paſt, with ſuch Speed and Heartineſs, which I had rather the Reader ſhould turn to* p. 45, 46. *than I repeat. Only the ſhort of it is, that the* Commons *have ſo much Strength, that they ſhould not be* compell'd, *to exert themſelves; and that it* muſt be ever Prudent to avoid all Occaſions of wreſtling with them. *But how right or how wrong the Dr. may be in this, I am not a competent Judge. There's a Reaſon indeed that every body can Judge of why my Lords the* Biſhops, *ſhould not oppoſe this Bill, nor* Part. I. p. 62. *give* Tom. Double *occaſion to boaſt of a* Liſt of Twelve of them who help'd *him and his* Party mightily laſt Seſſions, *and* without whom *they* had been thrown upon *their* Backs. *For my Lords ſeem to have* no great Reaſon to joyn with them who always have and ever ſhall hate their Hierarchy, againſt the very Perſons that ſo long have fought their Battel: *To Oppoſe thoſe who labour to ſerve the Church, and to plead for ſuch as* hate and deſpiſe Part II. p. 17. both them and their whole Order; *and who pride themſelves in* having ſufficiently, *as they ſay,* deluded ſome of the Sons of Aaron, *and* made them Act a ſtrange part! *but to ſay no more of this* ——

When I began my Addreſs to You, Sir, I was encourag'd by that Eſſ. p. 1. *Impartiality which you eſteem ſo neceſſary, and which I think I find in my own heart, and have likewiſe endeavour'd as much as I can to work in my Reader in the following Diſcourſe. And if the being hi-*P. 2. *therto an* unconcern'd Spectator *in our* Diſputes, *not thro' want of Zeal to the Publick, but becauſe I had no hope of Succeſs, gives me* a Right

Right to handle these Points, *I may have some Pretence to it. And as I would not desert my Friends in their* Disasters, *much less my Country, but be ready to serve them at all Hazards, so I would do it with that* bold Vertue which Truth, Justice, *and a Disinterested Honesty always* Inspire. *This Consideration, and it may be my* Natural Fierceness, *for I am* English, *lead me to* attack the Strongest, *for so Fame had represented you; but Common Fame they say is a Lyar, and so indeed I found her. For besides what is already produc'd, I have by me a List of what at present seems to me to be Contradictions, and false Principles, neither agreeable to good Morals, nor Consistent with Government, but its like, both you and the Reader may think I have said enough.* P. 78. P. 120. P. 207.

Only give me leave to Acknowledge, that one can't have a fairer Adversary, an Adversary that lies more Open, and is less upon his Guard. So Generous indeed as even to furnish his Antagonist with Arguments against himself. And if the World should happen to adjudge me the Victory (as sometimes the Knight is too hard for the Giant,) believe me, Sir, 'tis not through any Skill of mine, 'tis your own good Reasons that enable me to overcome. Not that I say this to lessen your Reputation, I have no such Design; since one gets but a pitiful Victory over a weak and contemptible Adversary. And when I have repeated in a few Words what some are pleas'd to say of your late Essays, *'twill be time to have done, For one of the greatest Arts of Writing is to know when we have said enough, and not to force our selves upon the World, when our Genius and Reputation fail us.*

'Tis said then, that you have not read the Bible lately, which is the Reason why you make Homer *the* Fountain of all Knowledge, *and a* Bad Clergy the Occasion of Schisms. *For St.* Paul *would have told you that Schism proceeds from* Mens being Lovers of themselves, *and from their* supposing that Gain is Godliness; *As also that there were Schisms in the Church of* Corinth, *and it is hop'd you'll at least allow that the Clergy was Good in the Apostles Days. And if the* Best of Men *are loath to be at the* Pains of subduing Sects and Heresies by their own Piety, *&c. Alas the Best of Men are come down to a very sorry Level!* P. 116. P. 228. P. 234.

Men begin to think that it is out of your tender Love to the Church, and lest she should any more avoid the happy Opportunity of having her Zeal Quickned *and her* Devotion *raised by the Approach of* Persecution, *that you desire to have her left at the Dissenters Mercy. For how much soever she may be secur'd against Papists by the* Limitation of the Crown, *we find no Security against other Persecutors. They are of Opinion that* Humane Wisdom *may go yet one* P. 220. P. 229.

Step

ſtep further for her Future Security, *and ſince this is the* Criſis, *and the Means are in our hands, they make no doubt but that a* Good *Prince at the Head of a Loyal and Judicious Parliament* will make Advantage of it.

P. 239. P. 243. *They wonder how you come to tell us that* our Church ſeems to have quite laid aſide the Spirit of Perſecution, *pray when was ſhe poſſeſs'd with it? Her Enemies may lay ſuch a Calumny upon her, but he muſt never profeſs his* adherence *either to her* Intereſt *or* Doctrine, *who can lick up their Spittle. Nor is it your Buſineſs Sir, but Mr.* Double's *to bring a Reflection upon the* Church *and Clergy*, and to expoſe and render them Contemptible to the People.

P. 261.

Part II. p. 16. Eſſ. p. 246, &c.

They ſay the World had been mightily oblig'd to you, if inſtead of abundance of Harangue, you had given us one Plain Mark whereby we might diſtinguiſh the Penitent from the Obſtinate, for by all that we can diſcern, the Enemies of the Conſtitution ſhew no ſigns of Repentance. And as it is unjuſt to afflict the Good, and to puniſh the Penitent is unmerciful; ſo to let the Wicked go on with Impunity, begets a laſting Succeſſion of Ill Government; *and not to provide againſt the Arts of Seditious Men, will do them no real Good, and be our own Deſtruction.*

P. 114.

Tom. Doub. Pt. 1. p. 41, 42. *They tell us that they have been taught that* Whiggiſh Liberty and Property conſiſts in a Right to Rob the Publick; *and that they* had in a manner Ten Years Preſcription for it. *So that if by your Frugality in managing the Publick Treaſure you deprive them of this Right, it is not all your other Favours will content them. And that ſhould good Men* watch with Eyes ever open to find ſome lucky Moment when Parties may be willing to hear Reaſon, *it might endanger their Brains ſo much, that whn the Lucky Moment comes they would not be in a Capacity to uſe it.*

Eſſ. p. 78.

They ſay the only good, and indeed among the many Pretences, the only True *Reaſon for oppoſing the Bill, has unawares ſlipt from you*, p. 194. *For they who like the Conſtitution and are ſatisfy'd with it, are glad of a Bill which would ſecure it. But they who think the* Conſtitution *is* far from being perfect, *and therefore would be at Liberty to mend it, muſt needs in conſequence of this Principle Oppoſe the Bill: What elſe can poſſeſs Men with ſuch a Fury to defeat a Law againſt which they cannot offer one ſubſtantial Reaſon? to ſtick at no Arts however vile to defeat it? A Law that would be of ſuch Advantage to the Nation both in its* Immediate Conveniences, *and* in the Future Conſequence of Things.

P. 258.

For

For Faction will in vain endeavour to clog the Wheels of Government, *when they are entirely kept out of the Administration, and there will be no longer a* fore Place *for all the* ill humours *to run to.* P. 203. *Nor will the Factions be able to Betray our Councils and hinder our Dispatches, they can at worst but* fall off to the Enemy *as you say* they always will. P. 105. & P. 89. *Tho' by the way, are they not pretty Men, and worthy of Encouragement, who can be suppos'd to betray their Country, and fall off to its Enemies on any Account whatsoever! But be the Men what they may, there was a time when a certain Author told us, that the* Legislative Strength can deal with the Ambition, Bal. of Tr. p. 168. Avarice, Corruption and Rapine of the Great Ones.

They further tell us, that the abating from the Claims, Terms, Essay p. 78. and Pretensions of both Parties, *may be a good Expedient to make Equals meet, and to compose their Differences. But they hope you don't pretend to set the Constitution and its Opposers upon a Level! And besides, to speak out plainly, and to get as much out of Cloud and Dust as we can, has not the Constitution made many Concessions, many Abatements of its Lawful Claims? To name no more, was not the Toleration a great one? but what Pretensions have the other side ever given up? Nay, do they not by fetches and taking advantage from the Mildness of the Government draw Inferences that were never meant, as that Dissenters are no Schismaticks because they are Tolerated,* &c.—— *If then the Concessions must be all from one side, will it not be that* Treaty and no Treaty *which King* Charles *I. tells us, the honest Presbyterians would have forc'd from him?*

They say, that a Man who could think that some Persons had Bal. of Tr. p. 145. been reasonably complaining of Male-Administration for 30 Years *before the Revolution, and no longer, that is in plain Terms down from the Restoration; who speaks well of few Princes and intolerably of some of Her Majesty's Royal Ancestors; who can find so many Faults in a Monarchy as all his Books from first to last are full of: And to shew himself compleatly, in one of them plainly tells us,* that the *Hollanders* perhaps in their hearts might wish to see Regal Ball. of Power, Power settled here [*at the Restauration*] as apprehending the p. 16. Industry, Frugality, Vigor in Action, and Sagacity in Council (*all fine things!*) of the Rising Common-Wealth of England; *If we may collect Peoples* Meanings *from what they* take upon them Ess. p. 36, 37. *to tell us* in their Books: *such a Man as this, is of a Complection, and Politicks not very well suited to the Service of an English Monarch and our Present Constitution, whatever fits of Zeal he may sometimes put himself into for either.*

However they tell us, that he was much in the right when he pro-
Diſc. on the Rev. Part II. p. 299. *nounc'd that* Never any private Man, or Collective Body of the People are Betray'd but by thoſe in whom they put a Confidence. *That* Miſchiefs commonly proceed from ſuch Perſons as firſt ſpeak Well to gain a good Opinion, and then do Ill to get *(or keep)* good Places. *And that as* it can hardly be conceiv'd but
Ball. of Trade, P. 168. by thoſe who have ſeen it, what Reverence is paid even by his Enemies, to a Man of Steddy Principles: *So every body knows what Contempt is due to him who has None.*

That Men of clear Underſtandings preſently ſee through a Difficulty and detect a Fallacy, but weaker Judgments which are the greater number, are entangled and miſled when an Author perplexes the Point, eſpecially if his Style is plauſible, and his name in Vogue. And doubtleſs he has his Reaſons for his Sophiſtry, tho' what ſort of Reaſons they are is out of Queſtion. And they think it may paſs for a good Rule in Criticks, 'that we are to Judge of an Author by 'his ill Principles, and not by his Good. *For the ill Principles are certainly his own, or he would never ſpread them; whereas the Good may be only made uſe of for Faſhion-ſake, and to recommend the Bad.*

They add that you are as great a Niggard of your Reaſons as you are Liberal of your Harangues. That your May be's, *your* Perhaps's *and* Peradventure's *are endleſs, and all drawn up in Rank and File againſt each other. And ſince it* may be *that certain late* Eſſays *inſtead of Promoting* Peace at Home, *may raiſe Diviſions, will it therefore follow, that the Mighty Author muſt for ever after ſuppreſs his Great Genius, and wield his Sodering Gooſe Quill no more?*

Diſc. on the Rev. Part I. p. 277. *In ſhort, they tell us,* that when Men leave Honeſty, Wiſdom forſakes them; when they quit the Paths of Vertue they are preſently bewildred. *When they make Sale of their Conſcience they barter away their very Reaſon, at leaſt the brightneſs and force of their Underſtandings. And that therefore there ought one Caſe to be added to the many you have put,* (viz.) *That when by plain Conſequence and fair Deduction, a Man's Arguments ſupport that Cauſe he endeavours to overthrow, and he is wounded with the Edge of his own Weapon: It is evident that either his Judgment is very Mean, and he knows not what he would be at: or elſe he plays booty, or laſtly, and which is*
P. 389. *moſt likely,* he has acted againſt his own Natural Lights, *and exercis'd his Talents in a bad Deſign: And that* Truth is ſtrong and will prevail, *notwithſtanding all the little Arts and falſe Gloſſes of Men, whereby they endeavour to impoſe upon others and to ſilence the Convictions of their own Minds; that her Light penetrates their Souls at the ſame time that for Worldly Conſiderations they ſhut their Eyes againſt*

againſt her; and in ſpite of all their Attempts to Overthrow, Corrupt, or Diſguiſe her, ſhe drags them Captive at her Chariot Wheels.

And Oh! that it were as eaſie to perſuade Men to receive the Truth, as it is for all honeſt and diligent Enquirers to find her! That one were able to Thunder like Demoſthenes, *and to rouſe their Countrymen out of that wretched Stupidity which has ſo fatally poſſeſs'd them! That Truth plainly and forcibly deliver'd, and in her Native Beauty, might Triumph over that painted* Syren, *Popular Eloquence, and all thoſe pernicious Arts with which Falſhood and Cunning bewitch Mankind; That one could prevail with them to Remember what has been; to Obſerve how the ſame Methods are renewed, and to Conſider what will be the Event! That they might break through the Snares in which Wicked and Artful Men entangle them, and be no longer the* Dupes *of a few who only ſerve themſelves at their better Neighbours Coſt; Nor be again and again deceiv'd with the ſo often detected Fallacies! But alas! what avails it to have the Will to ſerve ones Country, when one wants the Power to prevent its Ruin! Muſt all the Preſages of Honeſt Hearts and Clear Heads have no other Fate than* Caſſandra's *Prophecies! However, if the Fatal Day is not to be avoided, yet let every true and Generous* Engliſh *Heart, exert it ſelf to the utmoſt, and whilſt we labour to ſupport a Sinking Church and Nation, if we can't Succeed, let us at leaſt be buried Nobly in their Ruins!*

Thus Sir, I have freely told you the Cenſure that is paſt on your laſt Eſſays; *asking your Pardon if there be any Expreſſion of mine, that is not conſiſtent with the Charity and Meekneſs of a Chriſtian, or the Candor and Good-Breeding of a Gentleman. It has coſt me more Time and Pains to Anſwer you in the Words of that Famous Author I have ſo often cited, than would have ſerv'd if I had us'd my own. But I do not repent of the Labour, for tho'* my Sayings *might have been diſregarded, his muſt needs weigh with you and all the World. And I hope I have not merely* pick'd ſomewhat *out of your Book to Cavil at, but have advanc'd Propoſitions that ſeem'd to be* Truer, Wiſer, *and* better founded. *And our* Principal Aim being to hunt after Truth, conſequently we wed no Opinion in all theſe Matters, that we are not willing to Change upon better Conviction. I thought I could not imploy my hours of *Leiſure* more to my Country's Service than *by* opening this new Scene. *And a Gentleman ſo reſolute as* neither to Ask or Give Quarter in the Conflict he intends to maintain with the Corruptions of the Age, *can't be offended, if that* Zeal *which ſeems to* cool *in one part of the Body Politick, grows* warm *in another, to expoſe thoſe* foul Practices which have been, *and will always be,* ſo deſtructive to England. *A Perſon who has Truth and Juſtice on his Side needs not be afraid to* Combat

Ballance of Trade, p. 2.

Diſc. on the Rev. Part I. p. 256.

Grants & Reſump. p. ult.

on

on, tho' he ſhould be left to ſtand alone; *for ſuch an one does not ſtay to balance, what's to be Got or Loſt in this World, by an Honeſt and Generous Action. And conſidering how much Looſe Principles, Evil Cuſtoms and Example have depraved Humane-Nature, one of this Temper, will find more Occaſion to ſhew his Talent in Satyr, than* Eſſ. *p.* 376, *&c.* *in Panegyric. But you who are ſuch an Advocate for Diſintereſted Friendſhip and Freedom towards Great Men, and have prov'd that the ſhewing them their* Weak Side, *is ſo neceſſary and ſo kind an Office, will I hope excuſe the Want of the Uſual Compliments and Formalities, and take in good part the Plainneſs and Sincerity of, Sir,*

Your moſt Obedient,

TOM. SINGLE.

☞ *The* Reader *is deſir'd to take notice that the Editions referr'd to, are the* 2d. *of the* Ball. of Trade; *the* 6th *of the Firſt Part of* Tom. Double; *and the* 2d *Edit. of the* 2d *Part, and the Firſt Edit. of all the reſt.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

THough it be very truly ſaid in the following Book, *p.* 65. that Mr *Calamy*'s Index amounts but to 522. Yet the Author, who will never be aſhamed to own a Truth, or to Retract what has the leaſt Appearance of an Error, freely Acknowledges, that in the Body of his Book, there is a Confus'd Collection of Names, which poſſibly may amount to 2000. Tho' meeting with the ſame Names more than once, and without any diſtinguiſhing Character, 'tis like the ſame Perſons may be multiply'd to make up the Number, eſpecially ſince himſelf ſeems afraid of it, *p.* 484. But be the Number of his Ejected *Non-Conformiſts* what they may, 'tis eaſie for ſuch an Accountant as Mr. *Calamy* to make them as many as he pleaſes. 'Tis but taking in the *School-maſters*, p. 485; the *Ignorant Mechanicks*, not only thoſe in *Wales*, (Pref.) but in other places, as *Durant* the Waſhball-maker of *Newcaſtle*, dragging in Men whom he owns liv'd in *Ireland*, p. 222, *&c.* 368. *France* p. 252. *New England*, p 337. and from uncertain Places, *p.* 252, 306, and elſewhere. *Occaſional* Preachers having no ſettled place, *p.* 218, *&c.* Such as were *not fix'd* but were *deſign'd* for Livings, *p.* 363. 450. whom he tells us *loſt their Preferments*, he ſhould ſay their Hopes, for in the next line he adds that the *Act for Uniformity found them unpoſſeſs'd of any Benefice* (Pref.) Such as *were not*, and *yet were* expell'd *by it*, p. 379. (let him reconcile the Contradiction) Such as *were not Incumbent any where when the Uniformity took place*, p. 484. and therefore can only be brought in to fill up the Number. And to do it effectually, Such *as tho' not Benefic'd* at that time, *were yet worthy of any Living*, p. 237.

ERRATA in the *Prefatory Diſcourſe*.

PAge 12. Line 30. f. *on* r. *in*. p. 13. l. 33. r. *Friend's* and *d.*, pag. 25. l. 30. r. *Nation*. p. 49. l. 35. f. *for* r. *of*. p. 30. l. 27. r. *enow*.

ERRATA.

Page 11. Line 28. for *The* read *Tho'*. p. 23. l. 33. f. *perfectly* r. *perfect* p. 36. l. 6. aft. *tells* add *us*. p. 37. l. 10. f. *for* r. *of*. p. 44. l. 24. f. *Irregularity* r. *Irreverence*. p. 48. l. 14. f. *for* r. *of*. *Ib.* l. 27. d. *of* p. 53. l. 29. d. * and r. *not*. p. 61. l. 22. f. *nigh* r. *high*. p. 64. l. 36. f. *his* r. *the Author's*. p. 67. l. 31. aft. *tells* add *us*. p. 80. l. 35. f. *Propositions* r. *Propitious*. p. 81. l. 20. f. *brightest* r. *greatest*. p. 86. l. 28. f. *till* r. *that*. p. 90. l. 5. aft. *Tenderness*, f. *of* r. *for*. p. 91. l. 4. f. *than* r. *that*. p. 99. l. 21. r. *Circumstances*.

Moderation truly Stated:

OR, A

REVIEW

OF A

Late PAMPHLET, ENTITUL'D,

Moderation a Vertue,

OR, THE

Occaſional Conformiſt Juſtify'd from the Imputation of HYPOCRICY.

WHEREIN

This *Juſtification* is further Conſider'd, and as far as it is capable, JUSTIFY'D.

Women are ſtrongeſt, but above all things Truth beareth away the Victory, 1 Eſd. 3. 12.

LONDON:

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EXCEPT the ſhewing Men's Ingenuity, the making a Figure in the World, and all the conſequences of this, which will always be a Motive to moſt Peoples Actions, I know no other Reaſon for writing Pamphlets, but either to ſtrengthen a Party, that is, in other words, to embroil the State, by working on the Fears and Jealouſies of the Weak and Injudicious, and by ſoothing the Humours and Deſigns of the Vicious and Turbulent: Or, elſe by way of Antidote, to fortifie the honeſt and well-meaning, againſt the Poiſon of the common ſort of Pamphleteers.

Now we Writers, eſpecially for Moderation, would take it very ill, ſhould you refuſe to allow us a place amongſt the laſt ſort. Her Majeſty 'tis true, who is without doubt the beſt Judge in the Caſe, ſeems to have no good Opinion

of any of us, by the diſlike ſhe was pleas'd to expreſs to the great Licence of the Preſs. But ſince the Factious and Diſobedient take no notice of Her Royal Pleaſure, ſo long as they can with Impunity tranſgreſs, it is to be hop'd that Her Dutiful and Faithful Subjects who otherwiſe would be Silent, have Her Royal permiſſion to counterwork their ill deſigns, and may be as zealous in keeping People in their Duty, as others are in ſeducing them out of it. And truly it were well if the Zeal of the one kept pace with the reſtleſs Induſtry of the other: For to our ſhame be it ſpoken, ill Men are always more active in doing miſchief, than the Well-Affected are in doing good. Truth and Honeſty have Charms enow of their own, as we think, to recommend them, wou'd Men but open their eyes to behold their Beauty. But the miſchief is, every body pretends to Truth and Honeſty, all Peoples mouths of what Faction ſoever, are full of Religion and Liberty, Moderation, the Publick Good, and what not, yet every one has not the good ſenſe or good luck to be of the right Side. The moſt Readers are ſuperficial, Men of ſhort views, of great prejudices and paſſions, and therefore no wonder that they are beſt pleas'd with Writers of their own depth.

We indeed who plead for Temper and Moderation, know very well that ſuch Profeſſions are apt to work upon the Honeſteſt Minds. Good Men do as they would be done by, they hate force and violence when offer'd to themſelves, and therefore they can't endure to have it offer'd to their Neighbours. It is as natural for Generous Spirits to have compaſſion for the ſuffering ſide and to take its part, as it is for the vulgar ſort of Men, the Ambitious and Deſigning, to cleave to what is uppermoſt, how much ſoever they deſpis'd and oppos'd it when under hatches: there is not therefore a better artifice than to complain loudly of ſufferings, whether there is any occaſion for it or no.

But were I worthy to adviſe my Reader, I would intreat him neither to believe Me or any other Writer on our bare word, to take nothing upon Truſt, but to ſee with his *own* Eyes, and to judge according to his *own* Underſtanding; to be of no Party, no Opinion, becauſe this Relation, or that great Man are of it; becauſe it is popular or plauſible, becauſe it will ſerve a preſent Turn, or make a For-

Fortune, or even becauſe one has been of this Opinion formerly. Since, whatever little Spirits may think, there is not a ſurer Sign of a Brave Mind, than the getting over Prejudice and Prepoſſeſſion, the not ſcrupling to quit an Error ſo ſoon as one is honeſtly convinc'd of it.

Well then, though I know very well that a pert Jeſt or a ſly Reflection, a probable Slander, or even a down right Calumny that has Impudence enough to back it, the Gingle of Sounds and a well turn'd Period, ſhall paſs with very many Readers for Arguments and Demonſtrations; Yet theſe apart, I'll endeavour as well as I can to ſettle the Point and to find out the true Meaning of *Moderation*, provided the Reader will all along take care that I don't impoſe on him: And after ſuch fair Warning, if he will be miſtaken, at his own peril be it.

And where ſhall we have the true Character and Meaſure of this and all other Duties but from the Holy Scripture? an Authority ſo Authentic, ſo conſiſtent with it ſelf, and which every one will appeal to! The *Moderation* then which it Commands, muſt not be inconſiſtent with thoſe other Duties which it likewiſe enjoins us: But the ſame Apoſtle who bids us *Let* our *Moderation be known unto all men*, does alſo Command, that *all things be done Decently and in Order*; and aſſures us that *it is good to be Zealouſly affected always in a good thing*. 'Tis certain then that *Moderation* muſt neither hinder Decency, nor diſturb Order, nor ſlacken Zeal, any more than one or all of theſe ought to prejudice *Moderation*. So that if Indifferency to the Honour and Service of GOD, Irreverence and Indecency in His Worſhip, Diſorder either in Church or State, don't happen to fall in with this Account, we can't help it; Chriſtian Moderation contradicts no other Duty, whether or no ſuch a *Moderation* as this will ſerve the turn of thoſe who make the loudeſt Clamours for *Moderation*.

Phil. 4. 5. 1 Cor. 14. 40. Gal. 4. 18.

To be more particular, ſince every body almoſt is accus'd by one ſide or other, of Exceſs or Defect in this Duty; the beſt way to get a juſt Notion of it, is to examine the Nature of thoſe other Duties by which it is limited and directed, and which are in a manner the Extent and Boundary of its Courſe.

And firſt for *Zeal*, it is an Emotion of the Mind ariſing from the higheſt Eſteem and Warmeſt Love, whereby we are excited to purſue to the utmoſt the Intereſt and Service of what we thus Eſteem and Love. And becauſe GOD only can deſerve this exalted Degree of Devotion, therefore Zeal is abus'd and miſapply'd when it has any other Object. So that ſtrictly ſpeaking, we are not Zealous but Furious when we eagerly purſue any thing beſides the Glory of GOD, and what he requires of us in order to His Honour and Service. For this is the only *Good thing*, in which we can as Chriſtians, or even as Men, be *always* and without Exception *Zealouſly affected*. And if we deſire our *Zeal* ſhould be *according to Knowledge*, we muſt take care that every Act of it, be proportion'd to that rank which each particular Action holds in the Service of GOD.

As for *Order*, as it needs no external Arguments to enforce, no Rhetorical Perſuaſions to recommend it, ſo it ſtands in as little need of Art and Logic to define it. Like Beauty, Harmony, and Mathematical Proportions, which are nothing elſe but that Order the Mind obſerves in thoſe ſeveral Objects about which it is employ'd, 'tis diſcern'd by its own Native Light, and ſhines by its own Brightneſs. Common Senſe informing every one that Order is nothing elſe but that which is moſt proper, moſt becoming, and every way beſt in its Kind. And our Souls which were created by the GOD of Order do ſo naturally reliſh it, that he muſt have ſtrangely vitiated his Taſt who does not approve every thing that bears its Stamp. No man to be ſure can have Forehead enough to plead for Diſorder and Confuſion, the moſt he can do is ſtoutly to deny that you purſue Order as you pretend.

And in the laſt place, that *Decency* which the Apoſtle enjoyns, what is it but that part of Order whereby the Form and Manner of the Publick Worſhip of GOD is regulated? which is ſo much the more Decent by how much it is the more Orderly. What Place then for *Moderation?* Muſt we perform GOD's Service Decently to day and ſlovenly to morrow? Temper our Reſpect and Reverence towards Him, whereas the very utmoſt we can pay were not enough, were it poſſible to offer more? Shall we *Moderate* our Regard to Order, that is, give ſome few grains of Allowance to Irregularity

gularity and Diſorder? What is this but the being *Moderately* and *Indifferently Good*, no very proper Character for a Chriſtian, and leaſt of all for thoſe who pretend to the moſt excellent Reformation, and to be the moſt exact and perfect Chriſtians? Nor has *Moderation* any thing to do in the Service of GOD, here it is quite out of doors, *Zeal according to Knowledge* being the true Mean and Temper. So that provided we miſtake not the Way and Method, we can never be too warm and active in our Deſires or Endeavours after our own or our Neighbours Salvation.

To be *Moderate* in Religion is the ſame thing as to be Luke-warm, which GOD ſo much abhors, that he has threatned to ſpew ſuch out of his Mouth. To be *Moderately* Honeſt is to be Honeſt no longer than 'tis for our turn, or till we can hope to play the Knave ſecurely. To be *Moderately* Sober, is to guard our Temperance ſo long as Inclination, Company and Example don't tempt us out of it. *Moderate* Courage is the bearing Evil when we are forced to do ſo; and *Moderate* Valour is the fighting when we can't help it, and have no Back-doors to run away by. A *Moderate* Friend is one that will do you no hurt, which as the World goes is a conſiderable Favour, but he will do you as little good, he will not ſtep out of his Way, or incommode himſelf in the leaſt to ſerve you, nor tell you of your Faults for fear of diſobliging you; for he judges of others by himſelf, and is certainly diſobliged if you venture to meddle with his. A *Moderate* Chriſtian indeed is a very faſhionable and well-bred Perſon, he is not troubleſome with his Religion, he keeps it to himſelf and will not ſuffer it to go out of his Cloſet, you may without any reſtraint from his Preſence, or fear of any diſlike that he ſhould ſhew, either affront GOD, revile Religion, or Calumniate your Neighbour, as you are diſpos'd. And the Truth is, they have a little to ſay for this ſort of *Moderation*, for no wiſe or good Man would willingly paſs for a Hypocrite, and there are a ſort of People who have been ſo forward to reprove other Men's Faults, and ſo backward in mending their own, that a Man who has ſo much Modeſty as to think his own Innocence and Piety not at all conſpicuous, will not be over-ready to pull the Mote out of his Brothers Eye, leſt he ſhould meet with that juſt Reprimand

of

of beginning with the Beam in his own. And as for *Moderation* in a Parent, what is it I pray but the letting a Child go on in his Faults without Correction? a very proper Way of expreſſing your Kindneſs! A *Moderate* Judge is one who may hit the Caſe ſometimes and do Juſtice, and as often miſs it. And a *Moderate* Magiſtrate is one who lets the Laws fall under Contempt by a remiſs Execution of them.

What then is *Moderation* good for you'll ſay, and when is it to take place? for at this rate it is good for nothing. Why that *Moderation* which the Scripture enjoins, and the only way of rendering *Moderation* a Vertue, is the *proportioning our Eſteem and Value of every thing to its Real Worth.* When we are warm and aſſiduous about ſuch things as deſerve our Solicitude, and indifferent to that which is not worth our Application and Care, we are then *Moderate.* As on the contrary the being remiſs in Matters of the greateſt Moment, and very eager and induſtrious about ſuch as a Chriſtian ſhould deſpiſe, whatever it is, is not *Moderation:*

As is plain to any honeſt Enquirer, from the whole drift of that Epiſtle wherein St. *Paul* enjoyns *Moderation.* He was
Phil. 1. 13, at the time of Writing it, a Priſoner for the Cauſe of *Chriſt*,
—15, upon which Occaſion, ſome out of *envy and ſtrife*, and *not ſincerely*, but in oppoſition to him, took upon them to Preach
—16. the Goſpel, *ſuppoſing* as he tells us, *to add affliction to his*
— 2. 21. *Bonds*; Men who *ſought their own, not the things that are Jeſus Chriſts.* The Apoſtle therefore found it neceſſary to exhort his *Philippians* to *beware* of ſuch falſe Teachers, to whom
—3. 2. he affords no better Names than thoſe *of Dogs, of evil workers*, (no very moderate Epithets, according to ſome Peoples Notion of *Moderation*,) *of the Conciſion*, that is, ſuch as tear
—3. 18. and rend the Church, *Enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt.* Warning his Flock in the moſt earneſt and affectionate manner to take heed of, and avoid them.

Now the Method theſe falſe Teachers took to ingratiate themſelves with the People, was by making Diviſions, ſeducing them from their Lawful and Regular Paſtors, and
Gal. 6. 12. by inſtructing them how to avoid *Perſecution for the Croſs of Chriſt.* Our Apoſtle therefore to ſecure them againſt this Seduction, to fortify them againſt all the Difficulties that the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity could bring upon them, and to raiſe them up to that Perfection, whether in Purity of Life,

Life, or in Heroic Sufferings, for which our Holy Religion is calculated, makes uſe of the following Method.

Firſt, he exhorts them to Unity in the moſt paſſionate and preſſing manner, *If*, ſays he, *there be any Conſolation in Chriſt, if any Comfort of Love, if any fellowſhip of the Spirit, if any Bowels and Mercies, fulfil ye my Joy, that ye be like-minded, having the ſame Love, being of one accord, of one Mind.* Phil. 2. 1, 2, 3. And, *Let nothing be done through Striſe or Vain-glory: But let us walk by the ſame Rule, let us mind the ſame thing, ſtanding faſt in One Spirit, with One Mind, ſtriving together for the Faith of the Goſpel.* —3. 16. —1. 27. One would think *Occaſional Conformity*, which if it is not a ſinful Compliance upon Occaſion with what we judge Unlawful, muſt be a Non-conformity in the Main, and an Actual Separation for the moſt part, from what we allow to be a Lawful Church and Worſhip; One would think, I ſay, that this is not ſo indifferent a matter as ſome People would make it, otherwiſe St. *Paul* would never have been ſo preſſing and pathetic in his Exhortations to Unity. But that Divine Spirit by which he wrote, knew very well that in the *latter days grievous wolves* would enter into the Church *not ſparing the Flock*; Men would *ariſe, ſpeaking perverſe things, to draw away diſciples after them*; and therefore did all that could be done for Rational and Free Agents, to ſecure them from Seduction, if either the Reaſon of the Thing, or Divine Authority could prevail with them. Acts 20. 29, 30.

The other Method our Apoſtle makes uſe of, is the raiſing his *Philippians* to a generous Reſolution of *ſtanding faſt in the Lord*, even tho' they were call'd *to ſuffer for his ſake.* Phil. 4. 1. And as he preſſes this by many Reaſons and weighty Arguments, ſuch as (*a*) the Excellency of this Noble Reſolution; the (*b*) Advantages; (*c*) the furtherance and Confirmation it was to the Goſpel; (*d*) the Honour it did our Lord; (*e*) the bright Example it gave; (*f*) the Aſſiſtance they had from GOD; the (*g*) Aſſurance it brought them of their Salvation; (*h*) and the encouraging Proſpect of a glorious Reward hereafter: So alſo by his (*i*) own Example; and which is more than all, (*k*) by the Example of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt.* He does not repreſent Perſecution for Righteouſneſs ſake with a melancholy and frightful air, and as a moſt deplorable Calamity. No, ſo different were our Apoſtles Views

(*a*) 1. 10. 3. 15.
(*b*) 3. 8, &c. 2. 15. &
(*c*) 1. 7, 12.
(*d*) 1. 20.
(*e*) 2. 15.
(*f*) 1. 6. & 2. 12, 13.
(*g*) 1. 28.
(*h*) 3. 20, 21.
(*i*) 1. 7, &c. & 3. 7, &c. & 1. 30.
(*k*) 2. 5, &c.

from

(*l*) Ph. 1. 29. from thoſe of Modern Chriſtians, that he reckons it a (*l*) *Gift* and Favour; às thoſe firſt and beſt Diſciples did, who *rejoyced* See Acts 5. 41. *that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the Name* of JESUS, according to our Lord's Command, enforc'd with a Beatitude, S. *Matt.* 5. 11, 12. In like manner this real Hero S. *Paul*, Phil. 2. 17, 18. exhorts his Flock *to Joy and rejoyce with him* in his ſufferings, preſſing this duty emphatically upon them, *Rejoyce in the* —4. 4, 5. *Lord always*, the times of Affliction and Perſecution not excepted, *and again I ſay Rejoyce.* And in order to this, *Let your Moderation be known unto all Men, the Lord is at hand.*

As much as to ſay, if you have indeed profited by my Inſtructions, you will know what value you ought to ſet upon Spiritual, and what upon Temporal Advantages. You will have a very low opinion of the things of this World, and a great indifferency to them, even to Life it ſelf, and Phil. 3. 8, 18, 19, 20. all the ſufferings it is capable of. You will not *mind earthly things*, which would make you averſe to ſuffer, when Chriſt calls upon you to glorify his Name in this manner; But 4. 8, 9. whatſoever *things are true*, agreeable to the purport of the Goſpel and not to the falſe Gloſſes of Men; *whatſoever things are honeſt, juſt, pure, lovely, and of good report, if there be any vertue, and if there be any praiſe, you will think on theſe things*; Imitating me your Apoſtle both in Doing and in Suffering, following that which I have Practis'd as well as taught. Your 3. 20. *Converſation will be in Heaven*, from whence you will expect your Deliverance. Not a Deliverance from preſent preſſures, which wou'd not be to your advantage, for it would hinder *the* (1S. *Pet.* 1. 7.) *trial of your Faith*, which will one day be *your Praiſe and Honour and Glory:* Your falſe Teachers indeed *who mind* Phil. 3. 18, 19. *earthly things, who ſeek their Own, not the things which are* —2. 21. *JESUS CHRIST's*; theſe are *Enemies to the Croſs of Chriſt*, and will perſuade you to do any thing to avoid it. But the Salvation you are to expect, is that which will ſet you out of the reach of the Malice of Men or Devils, and fully and ex- (Rom. 8. 18.) perimentally convince you, that *the ſufferings of this preſent Life, are not worthy to be compar'd with that Glory which* will be your Reward for your Conſtancy and Patience under Phil. 1. 27. them. *Only let your Converſation be as becometh the Goſpel of Chriſt.* Live as Chriſtians ought, with Charity, Purity, and Heavenly Mindedneſs, and this Divine Temper will both preſerve you in Unity, and arm you with Fortitude to receive

ceive Heroickly whatever can befal you. *Be careful for nothing* therefore, learn of me *to be full and to be hungry, to abound and to suffer need*, truſt in GOD, *caſting all your care on Him who careth for you.* And tho' this may appear *a hard Doctrine, who can hear it!* yet be not diſcourag'd, for tho' you are to *work out your own Salvation with Fear and Trembling*, yet it is not in your own Strength, *for it is GOD that worketh in you both to Will and to Do of His good Pleaſure.* And how weak ſoever we are in our ſelves, yet we *can do all things through Chriſt who ſtrengthens us.* Indeed you will never do any thing to purpoſe and as good Chriſtians ought, unleſs you are got above this World and can deſpiſe both its Terrors and Allurements; unleſs you remember that *the Lord is at hand*, that your Warfare is ſhort and will ſoon be accompliſh'd; that *the faſhion of this world paſſeth away. Let your Moderation therefore be known unto all Men*; think of this World with all the Contempt it deſerves, and purſue the Glories of the next, at any rate, according to their Merit, whatever your *Conflicts* be, *whether it be by Life or Death*; that all men may know that theſe are your Principles, and that you live according to them. Nor do we, your lawful Paſtors, exhort you to undergo a burden which we our ſelves refuſe to touch; No, *I have ſuffer'd the loſs of all things, for the excellency of the Knowledge of Chriſt JESUS my Lord, and do count them but dung, that I may win Chriſt.* Nay, our Lord himſelf, *became obedient unto Death, even the death of the Croſs, therefore GOD hath highly exalted him*; and ſhall it be a hardſhip for you to imitate him! *Be ye* therefore *followers of me*, as I am of Chriſt JESUS.

Phil. 4. 6, 12. (1 S. Pet. 5. 7.) (S. John 6. 60.) Phil. 2. 12, 13. —4. 13. Phil. 4. 5. —1. 20, 30. —3. 8. —2. 8, 9. —3. 17.

This is St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, this is *his Moderation*, whether or no it will go down with us the Modern Advocates for *Moderation.* But were we as mortify'd to the World, and as earneſt in our endeavours after Heaven, as the Holy Apoſtles and the Primitive and beſt Chriſtians were, and as all Chriſtians ought to be, I do not ſay we ſhould take joyfully the ſpoiling of our Goods for Chriſt's ſake, and be ready to lay down our Lives for the Truth, this perhaps was practis'd in the days of yore, but is now become antiquated Doctrine, fit only to be put in practice when we want power to take another courſe, and are not able to Reſiſt or to defend our ſelves: But to be ſure, we ſhould not make a heavy

out-cry of Perſecution, for no other reaſon but becauſe the Government does not think fit to truſt us with Places of Power and Profit, offering us no other Injury, but the putting it out of our power, firſt to undermine, and then to perſecute our Neighbours.

This being the Caſe then, and the true Senſe of *Scripture Moderation* as is pretty evident, methinks it is a little hard to find what *this Moderation* has to do in the preſent Diſpute between the Church and the Diſſenters. Unleſs you will ſay that the Diſſenters ought to be re-minded to Practiſe *Moderation* in a *true* ſenſe, which they notoriouſly neglect; and to forbear recommending it to their Neighbours in a *Burleſque*. The Diſſenters I grant may tell us, " You Church-" Men are not *Moderate* Chriſtians in *Peter* and *Paul*'s ac-" count, for they deſpis'd the World, but you engroſs all " Preferments to your ſelves. Whereas our Appetites " are every whit as good as yours can be, ſetting a-" ſide our better Title as the Godly and Elect who are to " inherit the Earth, which you Prophane, have no Right to. " Beſides, we underſtand *good-Living*, not in the Old, out-" dated, but in the Modern Signification of the word, as " well as you do, and conſequently have as much occaſion " for Riches to ſupport it. But then how true ſoever this may be, it is not a ſeaſonable diſcovery, nor agreeable to their Profeſſions, to their *Gifts*, and that *exacter Diſcipline in Diſſenting Congregations, by which the power of Practical Religion is more viſibly kept up among them*, as they pretend; it would alſo give occaſion to *ſcandals*, which they ſay, they *either prevent* or *cenſure*. For Saints who forſake our *Parochial Aſſemblies* in queſt of *purer Miniſtrations*, and to be *better edified*; *who judge themſelves oblig'd to get the beſt help they can for their Souls*; who would have us believe they *place Religion in the great things of the Goſpel, Holineſs*, &c. *profeſſing ſimple Chriſtianity without humane mixtures, and who hate deſigning Knaves of any Party*; ſuch Saints as theſe are to be more above the World than that comes to, at leaſt they ought to take care to gild their Real Deſigns with more plauſible Appearances.

Moderation a Vertue. Page 11, 12.

P. 13.

So then if St. *Paul*'s notion of *Moderation*, (*viz.*) a contempt of the World and the things thereof, is not allowed to take place, then Lukewarmneſs and Indifferency in our Profeſſion

Profeſſion, is the only ſenſe in which *Moderation* can be taken in the preſent conteſt; if with the *Great* Mr. *Locke*, it be our conſtant care to annex to the word a determinate Idea. And therefore to preſs *Moderation* either on Church-Men or Diſſenters, is in effect, and were it put in plain Engliſh, to ſay to them, " Look ye, Gentlemen, you deſire to " be thought honeſt Men and good Chriſtians, true to thoſe " Principles you profeſs, but no matter for this, let us ad- " viſe you better; be very *Moderate*, or which is all one, " *Indifferent* in your Religion hence-forward; ſtick to thoſe " meaſures only that will ſtrengthen your Party, and pro- " cure you Profit and Power; which will make you con- " ſiderable in your Country; or at leaſt, keep you out of " harms-way whatever ſide is uppermoſt, or whatever " Changes and Revolutions happen. Popery is never to " be admitted unleſs it would aſſure our Abby-Lands " and promiſe us to carry no Money out of the Nation; " but if you can keep your Eſtates, and enjoy, or hope for " good Preferment, what matters it whether you go to " Church or Conventicle? ſo the Miniſtry will but be your " Friends, 'tis all one whether the Church-Men or the Diſ- " ſenters be the Men in Faſhion. And as for you Mr. *Church-* " *Man*, if you are a High-Flyer, yet ſure you will not ſay " your Church is Infallible? this ſavours of Popery, and " then beware of the Mob. And ſince ſhe is Fallible, why " may ſhe not be new Model'd and Reform'd by us who " are wiſer than our Fore-Fathers? and perhaps there may be " ſomewhat got by't. The Diſſenters *were never* yet to be " won by Compliances and Condeſcenſions, tho' they are " not yet agreed what will pleaſe them, tho' hitherto they " have never been in Power, but that they made clean " work with all who would not be of their minds: yet who " can tell but this preſent Generation may be better Natur'd " and more tractable Men than their Predeceſſors? Try " however: what great hurt in that? your Church ſtands " too firm to be ruin'd preſently, her *Doctrine*, the *good* " *Laws*, the *Queen's Protection*, and the good *affection of the* " *Parliament* ſecure her; ſo that her ruin muſt creep on by " degrees, and you'll have time and opportunity enough to " prevent it. Or if ſhe ſhould receive a ſhock, it may not " be irreparable, at leaſt a *Phœnix* may ariſe out of her Aſhes.

" And you, Gentlemen, who affect to be call'd *Low Church-Men*, " you are already ſo Wiſe and Prudent, ſo truly *Moderate*, " that you need not our Harangue. If you will but leave us the " Management, and obſerve your Cue, to be ſure your Inte- " reſt ſhall be taken care of, we never forſake our Friends, " we never cajole or impoſe upon them. We always keep the " Balance even, that is, we will not allow the Prince a Pre- " rogative to Help, leaſt ſome time or other it might give " him power to Hurt us. If either Houſe of Parliament " are pleas'd to oppoſe what we think fit to call the Pub- " lick Good, we know how to Balance it with the other. " Or if the Reaſons as well as the Reſolutions and Votes of " that Auguſt Aſſembly preſs too hard upon us, we have " an old Art to heave them up with the Mob. If the " *Clergy* grows too toping, *Presbyterian*-Cloak ſhall be " thrown into the other Scale, and if this is not ſufficient, " we can add *Independants*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Socinians*, and what " not, to make a dead weight upon occaſion. For were " there not a Balance how ſhould Men of Parts become " Conſpicuous? how ſhould they make their Fortunes, " were it not by throwing themſelves at Pleaſure into ei- " ther Scale? Who will make their Court to you? who " will fill your Purſe or feed your Vanity? if there is no " conteſting, and nothing elſe to do, but to *Fear GOD* " *and Honour the Queen*, to live Peaceably under the Laws, " and to ſee them duly executed, without *medling with ſuch as* " *are given to Change* unleſs to ſee them puniſh'd? And now " a word of advice to you honeſt Mr. *Diſſenter*, give the " Church-Men good words at firſt, coakes them if you can, " or if this will not do, threaten them with your Numbers " now, and your Memory hereafter, till one way or o- " ther you prevail with them to loſe the opportunity of " ſecuring themſelves and the Conſtitution. We do not " doubt but you remember that the Toleration was pleaded " for at firſt and agreed to as a meer Act of Grace and " Indulgence, in barely taking off the Penalty of the Laws, " without any approbation or encouragement of the Sepa- " ration. But you know very well that it is now become " a moſt eſſential part of the Conſtitution, if any body " does but dream that it is ſtruck at, or if he has ſo good " a faculty as to ſmell out Deſigns againſt it and Conſe-

" quences

" quences at the Diſtance of ſome Ages, and which no " body but himſelf or his Echo's hear a Word of, whoop " the Government is almoſt ſhatter'd to pieces, and we're " within a hair's breadth of being once more in a State of " Nature! Who can tell then but that with a little good " Management, the Preſent Toleration may in time be im- " proved into the Eſtabliſhment, and the *Church* of *England* " as much as ſhe values her ſelf upon her Privileges, dwin- " dle into a poor precarious thing, and become oblig'd to " the Diſſenters for a Toleration? but this among Friends.

In ſum, for a Church-man to deſire a Diſſenter to be *Moderate*, is to deſire him to pay a partial Obedience, to halt between two Opinions, to be ſo far a Falſe Friend as to get it in his Power to be more effectually an Enemy. And if Obedience, Order, and Uniformity, the Peace and Safety of the Church be ſuch indifferent things, it were beſt to give them up all at once, and to make no more a-do about them.

On the other hand, that *Moderation* the Diſſenter deſires of the Church, is the ſlackning the Reins of Diſcipline, the Violation of Order and Breach of Laws. So that his *Moderate* Church-man muſt either be a good natur'd eaſy Fool, who will ſuffer Foundations to be ſap'd under his Noſe, whilſt he is flamm'd with fair Words and ſpecious Pretences, by every plauſible Speaker and Factor for the Party: Or elſe he is a prophane Hypocrite, or a down-right Libertine, who ridicules Religion, or has no real Concern for it, but only ſides with that which will beſt ſerve his Turn, conſidering it no further than it will be of uſe to his Temporal Advantage. Nor can the Diſſenter, if he is an honeſt Man, allow himſelf to be *Moderate*, for that were according to him, the giving up what he takes to be the Cauſe of GOD, and a parting tamely with the Reformation and Purity of Religion.

It matters not then on which Side the Precedents lie, nor how many Inſtances of *Moderation* and *Occaſional Conformity*, or of the contrary, the World may afford us: For it is a ſad Truth that the *World lies in Wickedneſs*; and that there are abundantly more Inſtances of Evil than of Good. We cannot therefore argue from what Men Do, to what they Ought to Do. Indeed when Reaſon and Religion oblige us to any ſort of Practice, there Example comes opportunely,

to

to encourage and to direct us in the Performance. But soft and fair —— this, tho' generally true, is liable to some Exceptions: For there are certain *Precedents so sacred and incontestable* that they always carry their Warrant and Authority along with them, of which the Worthy Author of *Moderation a Vertue* has selected a few, and assures us by these Evidences, that *Occasional Conformity is no new thing, but warranted* by them *in some Cases.*

Moder. a Vertue, p. 7.

And truly, since the Holy Scripture does not contradict it self whatever little Writers may; since the Doctrine and Example of our Lord and His Apostles was all of a Piece, their Practice and their Precepts did not interfere; for the Saying one thing and Doing another, was an Art unknown to Christians, till these later and politer Ages: I should be apt to think that if the *Precedents* of *Occasional Conformity* are truly collected, some Jugler or other has hitherto put a Deception of Sight upon us, our Eyes deceiv'd us when we thought we read in Scripture, such pressing Injunctions of Unity in GOD's Worship and Zeal in his Service, and the like, as we were apt to fancy the Scripture was full of! But if my *Reader* is morose, and won't allow this good Thought, if he continues positive that the Texts above recited are indeed in the Book of GOD, and that they bear the very same Importance and Meaning in which we have hitherto taken them: Then all I have to say is, that my Authors Precedents are not full and to the point; a blunt *Reader* it's like may add, they are nothing to the purpose; let us therefore examine the Merits of the Cause. And since no Precedents are universally Authentic, but those our Blessed Lord himself has set us, all other Men being subject both to Error and to Sin, and for this Reason to be follow'd no further than their Practice agrees with the Precepts of the Gospel: if therefore our Lord was an *Occasional Conformist*, it matters not much whether his Apostles were or no?

What then was His Practice? *We find him*, says our Author, *sometimes in the Temple and Synagogues; at other times Preaching in private Houses, on Mountains and in the Wilderness*, &c. *He Preach'd in separate Congregations, was a Dissenter from the impos'd Ceremonies and Traditions of the Elders, and Vindicated his Disciples in their Non-conformity to them, telling His Censorious Accusers, that they taught for Doctrine*

P. 7.

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the Commandments of Men. Mark this I beſeech you; for theſe Words of our Saviour, are what the Diſſenters have thought fit to urge againſt the Church to very good purpoſe, and very often upon Occaſion.

But then there are others who ſay, and they bring the four Evangeliſts for their Vouchers, that there can't be a more illuſtrious Example of Obedience both in Church and State, to Natural, Civil, and Eccleſiaſtical Parents, as well as to His Heavenly Father, than the Bleſſed JESUS was; adding that it would be much for the Nation's Quiet, the Honour of Religion, the Support of the Proteſtant Intereſt and the Diſſenters real Good, would they be perſuaded to imitate His Divine Example in this Matter.

For as He was Subject to his Mother and reputed Father, where His Commiſſion from His Heavenly Father did not pre-engage him; So we find him paying the moſt exact Obedience and Conformity to the *Jewiſh* Church, through the whole Courſe of His Life, ſo long as it was an Eſtabliſh'd Church, and till He Himſelf had founded another upon better Promiſes. Witneſs his Circumciſion; His Preſentation in the Temple; His Diſcourſing with the Doctors there; which though it was not of Divine Command, yet as Authors tell us, 'twas a Cuſtom introduc'd by the Elders, who examin'd the Youth of Twelve Years Old; His Obſervation of the Paſſover, and going up to *Jeruſalem* to the Feaſts at the appointed Times. And tho' his Immaculate Purity and Infinite Perfection ſet Him above all Legal Rules and Purifications, yet he humbly ſubmits to them, becauſe as He Himſelf is pleaſed to tell us, *it became Him to fulfill all Righteouſneſs.* How well ſoever He was qualify'd for His Office, He does not enter on it till His Thirtieth Year, the Age appointed by the Law for the Prieſts to take upon them the Service of the Temple; and by the Cuſtom of the *Jews*, for the Prophets to Publiſh their Miſſion. He would not do any thing, no not at his Mother's Requeſt till *the hour was come.* Though never Man ſpake as He ſpake, or Did as He Did; though He had that Spirit without Meaſure, which a ſort of Men on ſome Occaſions pretend to, either Sillily or Blaſphemouſly; yet we don't find Him exerciſing His *real Gifts*, with that Oſtentation wherewith others lay out their *Pretended.* He does not uſe them to the Diſturbance of the then

St. Luk. 2. 51.

St. Luk. 2. 46.

St. Mat. 3. 15.

St. John 2. 4.

then Eſtabliſhed Church, tho' very near its Period, but Modeſtly, and as much as He could, with Faithfulneſs to his Great Commiſſion, conceals them, ſtrictly charging ſuch as were heal'd by His Power and Goodneſs, to ſay nothing of Him, but to *go to the Prieſt*, and to obſerve the Rules of the Legal Eſtabliſhment, ſo long as it was Eſtabliſh'd, *for a Te-*
St. Mar. 1. 44. *ſtimony unto them:* A Teſtimony both of the Truth of the Cure, and that its Divine Author was indeed ſent from GOD, becauſe of His intire Conformity to Law and Order, ſince there is not a ſurer Sign of a Man's being an Impoſtor, than his being guilty of the Breach of Order.

And as our Lord was Obedient and Orderly in the Church,
St. Luke 2. 1, *&c.* ſo likewiſe in the State. He ſubmitted to be tax'd by the Heathen Power, notwithſtanding all the Inconveniences it brought on Him, by forcing him to be born in a Manger. He does not exert His Divine Power to ſecure himſelf
St. Matt. 2. gainſt Bloudy *Herod*, but flys from him. So again,
St. Matt. 14. when the *Baptiſt* was beheaded, and Himſelf in danger by another *Herod*, He does not Contend and Arm a Party, tho'
St. John 6. 15. they were very deſirous to make him a King, but quietly withdraws both from His Perſecutors and Admirers. He
St. Luke 12. 13, 14. does not pretend to be a Judge in Temporals, though all His Deciſions were Infallible, but leaves the Government of the World as He found it: only Commands us to take care
St. Mat. 22. 21. *to render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's.* He pays Tribute
St. Matth. 17. 24, *&c.* meekly and peaceably, at the ſame time that He proves they had no right to require it. And to ſumm up all, acknow-
St. Joh. 19. 11. ledges that *that* Power which unjuſtly oppreſs'd His Innocence, was *from Above*, Originally delegated from the King of Kings, and as ſuch ſubmits to it, however unjuſtly exercis'd. When His Zealous Diſciple drew a Sword, not only in Self-Preſervation, as it imports the Preſervation of Life and Liberty, but which is more, in the Beſt Cauſe that ever was or ever can be, our Lord was ſo far from encouraging,
St. Matth. 26. 52, 53. that He ſharply reprimands him, bidding him *put up his Sword into its place; for all they that take the Sword* againſt the Lawful Magiſtrate on what pretence ſoever, for ſure the Reſcue of the Son of GOD, the Defence of Spotleſs Innocence, and the moſt Beneficent Goodneſs, and not only of Religion, but even of its Author, were Juſtifiable Reaſons if there can be any ſuch; Yet this notwithſtanding, *all they*

that

that take the Sword, ſays our Lord, *ſhall periſh with the Sword*, at leaſt they deſerve to do ſo: For he that has Legions of Angels at His Command, is not ſerv'd, but diſparaged by ſuch poor and Shameful Succours.

But does the Bleſſed JESUS His Practice need to be Reconcil'd to it ſelf? no ſurely. Are theſe Precedents then agreeable to thoſe which our Author gives us? He is pleas'd to tell us "that he is not concern'd to prove the Caſe of our Diſſenters to be Parallel with thoſe he lays before us; and that it "is ſufficient to vindicate them from the Imputation of Hypocriſie and Atheiſm that they *think it ſo*". Had this been a Church-man's Method, one might have been told that it is a good way of impoſing on the Many and taking with Superficial Readers. It being enough for the Moſt, who do not weigh Senſe but Words, to have it put in their Mouths that *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles were *Occaſional Conformiſts*. How will this confound a plain honeſt Church-man, who knows very well what a *Modern Occaſional Conformiſt* is, but never heard or dreamt that there were any ſuch Folks at the planting of Chriſtianity! Since therefore our Author does not think fit to give himſelf the Trouble of drawing the Parallel, between the Precedents he offers, and our Diſſenters, though the whole Force of his Argument reſts upon it, ſo that unleſs it is prov'd, he does but banter both his Reader and his Precedents; For how *ſacred and inconteſtable* ſoever they are, they can be no *Warrant* but in a Parallel Caſe: We will by our Author's good Leave take the Task upon us, and draw the Parallel as far as it will bear. This then was the Caſe of our Saviour, of the Baptiſt his Forerunner, and the Apoſtles his Succeſſors. P. 9.

There was a ſure Word of Prophecy, appeal'd to by the Preachers of the Goſpel, which ſo evidently pointed to that period of Time in which our Lord vouchſafed to come into the World, that all Men were in great Expectation of its Accompliſhment. Theſe Prophecies fore-told that the Meſſiah the Son of GOD ſhould come with Commiſſion from His Father, to make a New Covenant and found a New Church, by Reforming what was amiſs, and improving what was Imperfect in the Old. *Moſes* himſelf, the Jewiſh Lawgiver, had aſſur'd them from the Mouth of GOD in plain and expreſs Words, that their preſent Eſtabliſhment was to give place to a better, ſtrictly enjoyning Obedience to this New Lawgiver. 2 *S.* Pet. 1. 19. Dan. 9. 29, *&c.* Jer. 31. 31, *&c.* Heb. 8. 6, 13. Heb. 10. 8, 9. Deut. 18. 18, 19.

Now JESUS of *Nazareth* the Son of *David* was born in *Bethlehem*, in the Seaſon foretold, all the Circumſtances of His Perſon, his Birth, Life and Death, agreeing moſt exactly with the Characters of the *Meſſiah* predicted ſo many Years before by the Prophets. And as a further Confirmation of His being indeed *That Prophet* ſent from God, or the true *Meſſiah*, both the Excellency of His Doctrine and thoſe Many Great and Open Miracles which he wrought gave full and evident Proof of His Miſſion.

And therefore ſince the Jewiſh Church was to be ſuperſeded by the Chriſtian, as is evident from the very Records of that Church, whoever was truly a Conformiſt to the Jewiſh National Church, muſt neceſſarily joyn with the *New* Eſtabliſhment; ſo plainly predicted, and in all its Ceremonies ſhadowed and figured, ſo ſtrictly commanded, and ſo ſtrongly enforc'd, by the *Old*.

Indeed our Bleſſed Lord, according to the Candor and Benignity of His Nature and Inſtitution, did not violently and all of a ſudden break off from the Ancient, and before His Commiſſion of Reformation, the only Lawful Way of Worſhip: But retain'd in His New Inſtitution as much of the Old as was proper, or could any way be accommodated to it. *He came not* (as he tells the Jews) *to deſtroy the Law* but to fulfil it. But being the Supreme Head of the Church, His Deciſions Infallible and His Authority unlimited, it is not ſtrange that He took ſuch Methods as He thought fit in the Execution of His Commiſſion. Teaching His Doctrine either Publickly or Privately, in the Temple or out of it, as His Divine Wiſdom found Opportunity to do good to the Souls of Men.

In like manner the Apoſtles in Obedience to our Lord and in Imitation of Him, did not abſolutely break off from the Jewiſh Church, till their continuing to Communicate with it was interpreted as a Virtual Renunciation of Chriſtianity. Becauſe if the Jewiſh Law were in full Force, and as Obligatory after the Death of Chriſt as it was before, (as the Judaizing Chriſtians would have it) it could be ſo on no other Account but this, that the Meſſiah was not yet come. As is evident both from the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles, and from their Epiſtles, particularly that to the *Galatians*.

St. *Paul* for Inſtance, whoſe Conduct was Uniform and throughout agreeable to his Doctrine, *Circumciſes Timothy* and *Purifies himſelf in the Temple, neither with Multitude nor with Tumult.*

P. 8.
Acts 24. 18.

Tumult. And that not Occaſionally for ſome little Temporal Advantage, this was none of his Cuſtom, who *ſought not Theirs*, but *Them*; but that he might convince the *Jews* that he did not ſet up a new Religion in oppoſition to *Moſes*'s whoſe Authority was Divine, but *that he himſelf walk'd orderly and kept the Law.* So that by what nick-name ſoever they might call St. *Paul*'s Religion, it was in Truth no other than the Regular *Worſhip of the GOD of his Fathers, according to what is written in the Law and the Prophets.* Acts 21. 22. &c. —*V.* 24. Acts 24. 15.

But when falſe Brethren who *unawares crept in*, took occaſion, (with an ingenuity that others have learn'd to imitate) from the Mildneſs and Charitable Condeſcenſions of St. *Paul*, to obtrude their Scruples, and to ſtrive to have their Weakneſſes paſs into Laws and Rules: It was then high time for the Apoſtle to aſſert his Juſt Authority, and to let them know, that it belongs to the Governours of the Church, who derive their Power from Chriſt the Head, and not to every little body to determine what or how far Compliances are expedient, and when they are hurtful. That it was not convenient to comply any longer with theſe pretended weak Brethren, if they took his Charitable Condeſcenſions for a giving up the Cauſe, or pretended to make a matter of Conſcience of that which in its own Nature, and till it was commanded or forbid by Lawful Authority, was only a matter of Indifferency, and therefore he would not humour them, by Circumciſing *Titus.* Gal. 2. 4. *See* Gal. 2.

Now this being the plain truth of the matter, as every body muſt allow who reads the Holy Scripture with Reverence and Attention, with an honeſt Mind, and not with a deſign to Burleſque it, by putting ſuch a ſenſe upon it, as they themſelves can't but know is not the ſenſe of Scripture, and by making it ſay any thing to ſerve a preſent turn; the Parallel methinks is drawn to our hand, an indifferent Reader may eaſily diſcern what agreememt there is in the Circumſtances and Conduct of our preſent Diſſenters, and thoſe whom our Author is pleas'd to note down as Occaſional Conformiſts.

For pray don't our Modern Diſſenters ſufficiently prove their miſſion for the work of Reformation by the Miracles they daily perform? Can you deſire a greater than the prevailing on a reaſonable Creature to credit them point blank to Reaſon and Good-Senſe? Are not they the only Gifted Men, fore-told by Prophecys? You need ſearch for them no further

than 1 *Cor.* 11. 19. and 2 *Tim.* 3. So that if they pleaſe to introduce a new Inſtitution, refining on that of our Saviour's, are we not bound to obey them! no matter for what St. *Paul* left on Record in his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, Chap. 1. 8. And therefore in the plenitude of their power they may Communicate *Occaſionally* or *Statedly*, *where* and *as* they pleaſe, with a *Non-obſtante* to all thoſe Apoſtolical Injunctions that command Unity and Order. Every thing being Lawful to them that can any way contribute to the Accompliſhment of their Grand Deſigns, and further the *Good Old Cauſe*!

But becauſe our Author is modeſt, and leaſt his Precedents ſhould not be ſufficient, we will add a few more appoſite ones out of Holy Scripture. And in the firſt place what think you of honeſt *Naaman* the *Syrian?* he was reſolv'd neither to of-
2 Kings 5. 17. fer *burnt-offering nor Sacrifice unto other Gods, but unto the Lord.* Only when the Duty of his place carried him into the houſe of *Rimmon*, and he bow'd himſelf there, the good Man had the Conſcience to ask God's Pardon for this little harmleſs Compliance, which he would not pretend to juſtify. He was convinc'd it ſeems that the Religious Worſhip of the *Iſraelites* was the only true Worſhip, but he was loath to quit a profitable convenient Place; who can blame him? and therefore he hop'd that a little *Occaſional Conformity* might be diſpens'd with.

There were a great many Occaſional Conformiſts in King *Ahab*'s time, which made the Prophet *Elijah* ask the *Iſraelites*,
1 Kings 18. 21. *how long they would halt between two Opinions?* The Prophet it ſeems was not ſo well inſtructed as to judge *Occaſional Com-*
Page 9. *munion in ſome Caſes Lawful, where conſtant Communion would be a ſin*; or to let paſs as an innocent Practice the Communicating indifferently in any Congregation. No, he was for clearing the point, if the *Lord be GOD*, ſays he, *follow Him*; *but if Baal, then follow him.*

Numb. 16. *Korah* and his Company too, were for Separate Aſſemblies and purer Worſhip. They thought it unreaſonable in *Moſes* and *Aaron* to reſtrain the Brethren's Gifts, and *to take too much upon them, ſeeing all the Congregation were holy.* Nor was *Korah*'s Party deſpicable; they appear too numerous to be ſuppreſs'd, and too great to be diſoblig'd. For he had in his Company no leſs than 250 *Princes of the Aſſembly, famous in the Congregation, Men of Renown.* And if this was not enough, either ſo juſt was his Cauſe, *(viz.)* the Liberty of the People and

and the free Exercise of their Gifts, the delivering them from his Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, who set *up himself above the Congregation of the Lord*, and *made himself a Prince over them*; and so apparent too were these Grievances and that Ambitious Man *Moses*'s breach of Promise, that to deny it was to deny common Sense, *to put out the eyes of these Men*, those worthy Patriots, who without any extraordinary quickness were convinc'd of it: Or else so Artificial and Assur'd were *Corah*'s Harangues, that *he gather'd all the Congregation* against *Moses* and *Aaron* the King and the Priest!

Numb. 16. 3. 13. —v. 14. —v. 19.

Further; even in the good Reigns of (*a*) *Asa*, (*b*) *Jehosaphat*, (*c*.) *Jehoash*, and (*d*) his Three immediate Successors, the High-Places were not remov'd, the People Sacrific'd and burnt Incense still in the High-Places; that is, in the Dialect of some High-Flown Church-Men, upon Schismatical Altars. For to use the Language of these Church-Men, the Schismaticks it seems were too strong, or the Kings too weak to bring about a thorow Reformation. Only *Hezekiah*, (and after him *Josiah*) was in a certain Author's Phrase *a narrow-Spirited Zealot*, making *fierce Opposition to Occasional Conformity*. For he remov'd the High-Places, suppress all Separate Congregations, even where Incense was offer'd to the Lord, as well as where it was offer'd to Idols. Yet for all this he happened to *Prosper*, and the reason the text assigns, is, because *he did it with all his heart*, sincerely and resolutely, *trusting in the Lord GOD of Israel, so that after him was none like him, among all the Kings of Judah, nor any that went before him.*

(*a*) 1 Kings 15. 14. (*b*) —22. 43. (*c*) 2 Kings 12. 3. (*d*) —14. 4. 15. 4, 35. *Page* 10. 2 Kings 18. 4, &c. 2 Chron. 31. 21. 2 Kings 18. 5.

What influence this Example might have upon *Zerubbabel*, and the rest of the Fathers of *Israel* whom *Cyrus* sent to *Jerusalem* to restore the Jewish Worship, and after this on *Nehemiah*, whom the *Persian* King employ'd in the same Work, I know not. But this we find, that according to our Author's sense of the matter, they so little *understood their true Interest*, that they scrupled not to shew such an *unheard-of Bigottry, of dangerous Consequence, and inconsistent with the Temper of all their Ancestors*, as to refuse to admit the *People of the Land*, even the new Inhabitants of the Land of *Israel*, either to share in their Civil Government, or Religious Worship. Tho' these *Moderate and Harmless Dissenters* the *Samaritans*, offer'd their assistance to strengthen *the Establish'd Church in a time of common Danger*. *Let us build with you*, say they, and they give a good

Ezra 1. 1, 2. &c. *Page* 10. Nehem. 13. *Page* 34. Ezr. 4. 2.

a good reaſon why they ought to be permitted, *for we ſeek your God as ye do*, ever ſince ſuch a time.

Nehem. 3. 1. There was indeed an High-Prieſt in thoſe days, who it ſeems
Page 10. *underſtood the true Intereſt of the Jewiſh Church* too well, to ſuppoſe that the *Moderate Diſſenter*, or *Occaſional Conformiſt's*
P. 25, 27. *being in Power* could *any way hurt the Church*; but rather *ſtrengthen her every way, ſo far would it be from doing her any real Prejudice.* He therefore allies himſelf to *Tobiah* the good Diſ-
Neh 13. 4, 7. P. 10. ſenting *Samaritan*, *and prepares him a Chamber* even *in the Courts of the Houſe of GOD.* There was alſo a ſtrict correſpon-
Neh. 6. 17, 18, 19. dence between *the Nobles and more thinking part*, and Diſſenting *Tobiah*; nay they intrigu'd and entred into a Confederacy, ſo that there were many in *Judah ſworn unto him.* They alſo *reported his good Deeds* before the Governour, and made no ſcruple *to utter the* Governours *words* or Affairs *to him.*

But what was the Event? Why *Nehemiah* is irreclaimably a *ſtiff and narrow-Spirited Zealot.* Such an one as ſome would call a Man of Prudence and Metal, neither to be wheedled nor frighted out of his Meaſures. He will do nothing that he thinks misbecomes him, or that ſmells of a Cowardly Spirit, nothing beneath his Character and that Authority which GOD
Neh. 13. 8. and the King had given him. So he throws out the *harmleſs Diſſenter*, won't ſuffer him to Neſt in the Houſe of GOD. For *Nehemiah* had Jealouſies forſooth, notwithſtanding *Tobi-*
P. 5. *ah's Charitable Sentiments of the Jewiſh Church, and Friendly approaches to it*; and was of ſo *unaccountable* a humour, as to ſuſ-
P. 14. pect that the Diſſenters Compliances were only *an Invention of crafty-Men to get into Places.* And that all their fair words were nothing elſe but *Artifices* which *the Iniquity* of theſe *Men had found out to elude* the good deſign'd the *Jews* by the Kings of *Perſia.* And therefore notwithſtanding their Profeſſions of Friendſhip and all that — *Nehemiah* ſtands upon his Guard, and continues firmly reſolv'd not to *Truſt* them.

See Ezra 4. 1, *&c.* And now let us ſee the *dangerous Conſequences* of this diffidence and narrow Spirit; firſt in *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſuah*, and then in *Nehemiah.* He who conſults the Sacred Hiſtory will find, that when theſe honeſt well-meaning Diſſenters ſaw that all their Overtures to accommodate Matters were rejected,
Ezr. 4. 4, 5. *they weakned the hands of the People, — troubled them, — hir'd Councellors againſt them to fruſtrate their purpoſe:* but pray who
P. 30. can blame them? For it was the *new hardſhips Nehemiah* put upon

upon *them*, which tempted them to *espouse severer Principles of Non-Conformity*. At last comes the wish'd for Time that blest-sed them with a King for their purpose, and by his Authority the Work was laid aside, and the Building was left unfinish'd. Ezra 4. 23, 24.

'Tis true, some of those Dissenters Successors, for you must know that Dissenters retain the same Quiet and Charitable Spirit, the same ardent Love to Peace and Unity, throughout all Generations; their Successors I say, upon renewing their Complaint, found the King they then address'd to, a Morose sort of Man, he would not take their Word, but made a full and impartial Enquiry into the Matter himself. The Result of which was a new Decree for the Service of the Jewish Church; and Oh; how ready are those good Men the Dissenters to further it! Their Industry and Application never fails them, they are as busy as ever in search of *Ways and Means for an Accommodation*. Some ill Men perhaps, who as our Author has it, are always well stock'd with *ill-natur'd and false Representations*, to Calumniate *innocent Men and make them odious*, may be apt to call their Prudence Craft, and their Officiousness Treachery, and to tell us that *Tobiah* and his Company, stuck at no Methods to promote their own Ends, and hinder the Jews Establishment, at the same time they pretended to be their dearest Friends: For they rais'd false Rumours and bold Aspersions, which they confidently vouch'd, hiring little Scribblers and News-mongers to spread them. And both by Cajoling and Threatnings, by Under-hand Attempts and Open Practices endeavour'd to gain their Point. *See* Ezra *Chapters the* 5. *&* 6. P. 6. *See* Ezra 4. *and* Neh. *the* 6.

But what a noble Plot was croſt!
And what a brave Deſign was loſt!

Nehemiah would not be baffled, he was endowed, as some will tell you, with Temper and Courage, Prudence and Constancy, and a Firmness that was not to be shaken, and all this Crown'd with irreproachable Justice and perfectly Disinterestedness, Qualities which ennoble a Man and make him shine, in spite of all the Malice, and Envy, and Opposition of his Enemies; and which will carry the Cause whatever it be, tho' Constancy and Firmness are not Vertues, but a pernicious Obstinacy, in an evil and unjust Affair. Indeed the former Qualities when single, or when Justice and Honesty does not direct them, do more hurt than good. For Temper without Courage is a poor sneaking faint-heartedness, that every body will trample upon: And Courage without Temper, or rather Prudence, which gives

gives it the Right Temper, is but a brutal Fierceneſs. Nor will Prudence ſtand a Man in ſtead, if he is not Reſolv'd and Firm in his Reſolutions, knowing how to act Courageouſly as well as to deliberate Wiſely. *Nehemiah* ſeems to be poſſeſs'd of them all, the Reſult of which was a Generous Steadineſs and Bravery of Mind that carried him thro' all Difficulties, which were ſo far from depreſſing his Spirits, and taking him off, that they only ſerv'd to excite and envigorate: So that by the Bleſſing of GOD upon his noble Endeavours, he obtain'd the Honour and Satisfaction of being the Reſtorer of the Jewiſh Church and Nation.

Turn we over the Sacred Pages of the New Teſtament, and there we ſhall find more Precedents of Diſſenters. Such were the *Samaritans*, the Poſterity of *Nehemiah*'s good Friends, who had very plauſible Pretences for their Way of Worſhip, even the ſame with our Author's, *Precedents and Antiquity*, their very Women being taught to alledge them; though I think we'd as good let this Inſtance drop, ſince our Saviour's Reply to the Woman's Queſtion, makes not much for the Credit of theſe Diſſenters. For he tells her *they Worſhip'd they knew not what*, and that *Salvation was of the Jews*, the Church that GOD himſelf had Eſtabliſhed.

See St. John 4. 20.

— v. 22.

The Chriſtian Church indeed in thoſe Primitive and Pureſt Days was poſſeſs'd of no Temporal Advantages to allure Men to *Occaſional Conformity*: But ſhe labour'd under Difficulties and Perſecutions enow, to prevail with them to Deny her by complying with her Adverſaries! Thus we find the *Gnoſticks* conſulting Self-Preſervation, that Fundamental Law of Nature, as ſome are pleas'd to call it; and they are in the right if they are either Philoſophers or Chriſtians enough to take the *Soul* for *Self*. But both Reaſon and Scripture aſſure us they are much in the wrong, if by *Self* they underſtand the Body, this Preſent Life, or any of its Dependencies.

See 1 Cor. 10. Theſe *Gnoſticks*, leſt they ſhould *ſuffer Perſecution for the Croſs of Chriſt*, thought there was no hurt in participating in the Heathen Sacrifices. Bringing themſelves off with this Learned *Diſtinction*, that *an Idol is nothing*, and therefore there was no manner of hurt in Sacrificing to it. The Church of the *Laodiceans* too was *neither Hot nor Cold*, that is, according to Modern Dialect, they were *Moderate Men*. Nor was *Thyatira* a Perſecuting Church, but one that *Moderately* ſuffer'd thoſe who call'd themſelves Propheteſſes to Teach in her Diſtrict. And to make

Rev. 3. 15, 16. — 2. 20.

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an End: there were *Contentions* in the Church of *Corinth*, one was for *Paul*, another for *Apollos*, a third for *Cephas*, by whom they fancy'd *themſelves better edify'd*, and ſome were *for Chriſt*. Nay, St. *Paul* himſelf aſſures us that *there muſt be Hereſies*, or Sects in the Church of GOD, therefore thoſe who divide from their Brethren and Governors, do only fulfil a Prophecy. St. *Paul*, 'tis true, did not encourage them, for they were not for his turn, nor for the Service of the Church of Chriſt. Thoſe Seducers indeed who *creep into Houſes and lead aſide* unſtable Souls, *ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth*; Or in Modern Language, ever hunting after Lectures, forſaking their Lawful Pariſh Churches, *to adhere to their own Diſſenting Miniſters and Congregations, where they find themſelves better edify'd and the Ordinances of the Goſpel more purely adminiſtred as they conceive*; thoſe Seducers I ſay, who bring them to this, know very well how to find their own Account in't. Tho' the poor deluded Souls are never like to obtain the Edification they profeſs to ſeek, becauſe of the want of a good Foundation, that is, of that tractable, Orderly, Goſpel Temper, which is the peculiar Diſpoſition that prepares one for the Grace of Chriſt. In fine, The Great Apoſtle St. *Peter* himſelf withdraws from the Gentile Church, or *Separates upon Occaſion*, an Inſtance more to our Author's purpoſe than any of thoſe he thinks fit to mention. He tells us indeed that the *Apoſtles made no Law for Uniformity in leſſer matters*, nor was *their own Practice Uniform*. What their Practice was we have already ſeen: And if you will not allow that *Canon of St. Paul's*, *Let all things be done decently and in Order*; and thoſe others, *Be of one Mind*; *Live in Peace*; *Keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*; *Be of one accord, of One Mind*; and in a word, that General Canon which may ſerve inſtead of many, and which makes full Proviſion for the Decent and Regular Adminiſtration of Publick Worſhip, *Obey them that have the Rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves*: If theſe will not paſs with our Diſſenters for Apoſtolical Canons, I confeſs I am at a loſs at preſent where to find any. And if any one will think fit to argue that becauſe the Jewiſh Church offer'd Sacrifice, which was her way of Interceſſion, for thoſe Heathen Princes to whom ſhe ow'd Subjection, therefore ſhe admitted them to *Occaſional Conformity* and allow'd it, I ſhould be apt to queſtion the Ingenuity of ſuch an Arguer, and tell him he might as well have ſaid that becauſe St. *Paul* exhorts Biſhop *Timothy to*

1 Cor. 1. 11, 12. P. 12. 1 Cor. 11. 19. 2 Tim. 3. P. 29. Gal. 2. 11, &c. P. 9. 1 Cor. 14. 40. 2 Cor. 13. 11. Eph. 4. 3. Phil. 2. 2. Heb. 13. 17. P. 10.

pray for Kings and all that are in Authority, who in thoſe days were Heathen Idolaters; that therefore the Apoſtle thinks it a Matter of Indifferency whether we ſerve GOD in the Chriſtian Congregation, or in the Idol Temples upon Occaſion.

Having thus conſidered the preſent Controverſy, as it is a Matter of Religion, and all that is Material in our Author's two
P. 6. firſt Heads, we leave the Reader to determine *How far Occaſional Conformity is warranted by ſacred and unconteſtable Precedents*; and whether *the Principles of the Occaſional Conformiſts are truly Chriſtian and Catholick* or no. By the way, giving the Diſſen-
P. 12. ters Joy of their new Claim to *Catholick Spirit* and *Catholick Communion*, Words which being prophan'd by the Church of *Rome*, one durſt not formerly make uſe of tho' in ever ſo good a Senſe, without running the hazard of being charg'd with Superſtition and Love to Popery. But the Imputation of Popery, that moſt odious Name, which is ſufficient to deſtroy any Dog one has a mind to hang, and to hound the Mob upon him, cannot at preſent be thrown with a good Grace on the Church of *England*, who had an opportunity and took it, not many
P. 16. years ago, to ſignalize her *eminent Zeal in defending the Pro-*
P. 11. *teſtant Religion*, and to approve her ſelf *a great Bulwark againſt Popery*, even by the Diſſenters own Confeſſion; and at a time when they ſhew'd themſelves ſo Loyal and ſo mannerly as not to open a Mouth againſt it, becauſe it was the King's Religion. And therefore the Caſe is alter'd, the Church that cannot bear the blame of Popery, muſt now be charg'd with *narrow ſpirited Zeal* and Uncatholick Principles!

We come next to conſider the Queſtion in Debate, as it is a Matter of Policy, and to enquire whether Prudence, Reaſon of State, the Intereſt of the Nation and Government, make it requiſite to allow of *Occaſional Conformity*, and this will take in all the reſt of our Author's Heads that are conſiderable.

As to Policy in general, we can't think the Maxims and Practice of a States-man and true Politician, ſo oppoſite to the Principles of Religion as ſome have taught, and others by their Actions would make us believe. For Government is neceſſary, it is from GOD, and therefore there can be no Neceſſity of doing an Immoral thing to Conduct and maintain it; unleſs we will charge GOD fooliſhly, and make Him the Author of our own Wickedneſs. Reaſon of State is never contrary to Moral Honeſty, when a Wiſe Man Manages it. 'Tis want of Genius, or want of Integrity in the States-man, which

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is indeed the greateſt Argument of want of Senſe, that makes it at any time neceſſary to do an Unjuſt or Diſhonourable Action. He who has only the wiſdom of this World, which is properly Cunning and not Wiſdom; he who has little, petty, private Ends to ſerve, and Paſſions to gratify which he is aſham'd to own, he will I grant be often forc'd into crooked Paths; But, let him not charge his Calling with it, as if being a Stateſman made it neceſſary for him to be a Knave, but let him blame himſelf where the blame only is due.

For a Wiſe and Good Man is always better able to carry his point, than a meer Crafty Knave is; but that the former many times refuſes to carry it, as ſcorning to ſucceed by indirect and diſhonourable Methods. Yet the Man of Honour, of Chriſtian Honour I mean, who purſues worthy Ends by worthy Means, cannot be unfortunate, he gains what he propos'd or ſomewhat better. His Proſperity is moſt aſſured, or if the Iniquity of the time deprives him of it, his Exit however will be Glorious, and his Memory ſhine to all Generations, beſides what remains upon account in the World to come. Such indeed as ſneak and cringe, who become the Inſtrument of Great Mens vices and the flatterers of their Follies, doing any dirty thing to get into Preferment, theſe uſe it in the ſame unhandſom manner that they got it. They confer their Favours on ſuch only as will purchaſe them as dear as themſelves have done, and therefore have no firm ſupports; real Merit they hate and depreſs, becauſe it is above them. They balk no opportunity to heap up Riches right or wrong, and oppoſe every one that will not comply with their Intereſts, and ruin all Meaſures how juſt and neceſſary ſoever that can't be brought to ſerve it Tho' this Manner of procedure be ever ſo oppoſite to their Prince's Honour, and Country's true Intereſt, by whom they were rais'd and whom they pretend to ſerve. They ſtrive to remove all thoſe Steps by which they mounted, leaſt another ſhould tread upon their heels. At one time they are for the Country zealous Patriots, at another for the Court Loyal Subjects, and then about again, for any thing indeed, to ſerve themſelves. No wonder then that their hold is ſo ſlippery, that they are forc'd upon more ill Actions to keep their ground, than at firſt they deſign'd. That indirect and diſhonourable Methods, mean Tricks, and baſe Artifices are requiſite, not to maintain the Government, but to keep them in their Poſts; and that they ſacrifice their Maſters to ſecure

themſelves; 'tho they are frequently out in their meaſures, all their cunning will not do, but at laſt they are taken in their own Craftineſs. They are pull'd down, laid aſide or worſe, their End is as pitiful and ignoble as their Riſe was undeſerv'd. Whatever therefore may be Reaſon of State with a cunning Man, who is but the Wiſe Man's Ape, Cunning being a defect of Wiſdom, yet a Man of a true Genius and noble Spirit, may if he pleaſes be both a Great Stateſman, and yet an honeſt Man and a good Chriſtian, otherwiſe Preferment were a very ill bargain, and it would be a hard Caſe, if a Man could not ſerve his Country without damning his Soul.

True Policy then requires nothing of us that is unreaſonable or unjuſt, or contrary to Religion and its Intereſts. For right Reaſon is Uniform, all of a piece, and if it is our Guide in Politicks, it won't lead us into meaſures inconſiſtent with its Dictates in other Caſes. So that if Occaſional Conformity is an Immoral Action, or prejudicial to Religion, conſequently it is impolitick to allow it. And whether or no it is inconſiſtent with the Intergrity of an honeſt Man, and that Diſintereſſedneſs and Zeal for GOD's Service which ought to appear in all the Actions of a Chriſtian, the Reader I make no Queſtion, is able to judge by what hath been already ſaid.

The Supreme Magiſtrate tho' he reſembles GOD, in that he Acts by Divine Authority, yet his Government at beſt is but a very faint Image and imperfect Draught of the Providence of the King of Kings, who being infinite in Knowledge and Power, at once ſees All-things, and provides for them by the meer efficacy of His own Will, and neither ſtands in need of Information to make his Laws and direct his Orders, nor of Inſtruments to execute them. In which reſpect all Human Government muſt needs fall infinitely ſhort of the Divine. But happy would it be for the World did *that* come up to *this*, ſo far as it might and ought; would Rulers I mean, ſo far as they can, endeavour to Imitate the Juſtice and Holineſs of GOD's Diſpenſations, were this always their Deſign and Endeavour, it would render them Godlike in the moſt eminent Degree that Man can reſemble his Maker, and would make compenſation for thoſe unvoidable miſtakes which the limitation of their Knowledge, the want or falſeneſs of Information, and the miſcarriages of their Inſtruments will neceſſarily lead them into. Be a Prince ever ſo well dispos'd to do his People Good, or ever ſo wiſe in making choice of the beſt Methods, 'tis impoſſible for him to look into all their Injuries

ries, all their wants, and all that may be of advantage to them, which yet he muſt do if he would find what good Laws are to be made; or diſcern what Laws are by the change of circumſtances, or for ſome other reaſons, become prejudicial; or which of the Inferiour Magiſtrates that diſpence his power, are wanting in their Duty and in a due Execution of his Laws. So that he is oblig'd to ſee with other Men's eyes, to receive Information and Advice from them which he makes the beſt uſe of, but does not depend upon or truſt to any Man's Judgment or Integrity but his own. Becauſe, ſuppoſing that their Underſtandings might be ſomewhat better, or their Experience more than his, yet he can't be ſo well aſſur'd of their Integrity as he is of his own. They *may* (and commonly) *have* Private Intereſts which warps their Councils, whereas he has no other aim or Intereſt but the good of his People. And beſides, ſince GOD has call'd him to Govern, and made it his buſineſs, he may reaſonably expect a peculiar Aſſiſtance and Direction from that GOD for whom he Acts, in whoſe hands are the hearts of Kings, and who has told us that he turns them which way ſoever he pleaſeth, and who doubtleſs does endow the Royal Mind, if Princes are not wanting to themſelves, with larger views and more Magnanimous Reſolutions, than any private Perſon can pretend to.

By what has been ſaid, it appears that the Welfare of a Nation depends in great meaſure on the choice of thoſe hands to whom the Prince commits the Adminiſtration. And to confirm it by Example, the Felicity of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign is generally aſcrib'd to the goodneſs of her Miniſtry, and her excellent choice of all the hands that ſhe imploy'd. Not that it is any derogation to that Prince, as if the praiſe of her good Government was rather due to her Counſellors than to herſelf. For tho' it has been obſerv'd that * Nations, and ours in particular, Flouriſh more under a Feminine than under a Maſculine Regiment: yet, it is not for that ſilly reaſon which envious Men aſſign, to wit, that under a Queen the Men really Govern, and the Women in the Reign of a King, each Sex being apt to adhere to the advice of the other. *Machiavel*, who muſt be allow'd to be no mean Politician, nor was he over complaiſant to the Ladies, tells us, that tho' "there are thoſe that believe, "that

* *Thus the Foundation of the Spaniſh Monarchy was laid by Queen* Iſabel *of* Caſtile. Margaret *of* Denmark *was the greateſt Prince of the North; And not to be tedious,* Zenobia *Queen of* Palmyra, *was the greateſt Prince of her Age, or perhaps, that the World has ever produc'd.*

In his Prince Chap. 23

" that a Prince who creates an Opinion of his Prudence " in the People, does it not by any excellence in his own " Nature, but by the Counſels of thoſe who are about him, " yet without doubt they are deceiv'd; for this is a general " and infallible Rule, *That that Prince who has no Wiſdom of " his own, can never be well adviſ'd.* And he gives his Reaſons which being too much to Tranſcribe, the Reader may pleaſe to conſult him, concluding *That good Counſels (from whomſoever they come) proceed rather from the Wiſdom of the Prince, than the Prince's Wiſdom from the goodneſs of his Counſels.*

A Wiſe Prince then is ſeldom miſtaken in his choice, if he be, there is indeed a neceſſity of changing his hands, but this ought not to be done but in the greateſt neceſſity, becauſe it is generally hurtful both to Prince and People. Buſineſs is at a ſtop, new Men will have new Meaſures, if it be but in pique to their Predeceſſors; the Nation will ever be diſquieted and rent in pieces with the Brigues and Factions of deſigning Men, in hopes to throw the old Miniſtry out, and to mount themſelves into the Saddle; the Kingdom's Treaſure will be expoſed to new and therefore more hungry Leeches, whereas thoſe that are full would have ſuck'd no longer. And in a word, nothing renders a Government more weak or more deſpicable, both at home and abroad, than a frequent change. For it muſt be either great Weakneſs or ill Deſigns that makes Princes ever ſhifting hands, and going the round from Party to Party for a Miniſtry. If good Men can't go into all Meaſures, it is their Vertue not their Fault; and a Wiſe Prince, not to ſay a Vertuous one, will not like a Servant the worſe for following the Dictates of his Conſcience rather than the Humour of his Sovereign. Such indeed as are full of Schemes, and have the Art to drop Artificially that which will not take, and to propoſe another that will, may recommend themſelves to their Maſters Humour and ſo to his good Graces; but have not much to ſay for their Honour and Integrity: And though he may Uſe them, yet if he be a Man of Senſe he can't value them. If he has Intrigues contrary to, or beſides the Intereſt of his People, then indeed they are neceſſary to him; but they are in reality the Peſts of a Nation, and will ever be ſo eſteem'd under a Juſt and Lawful Prince. So that when Death or any other ſufficient Reaſon makes a Succeſſion abſolutely neceſſary, care at leaſt ſhould be taken to fill up the Vacancy with Men of the ſame Principles,

ciples, who will purſue the ſame Meaſures. Steadineſs in our Maxims, and Conſtancy and Firmneſs in our purſuit, being that which will compaſs an ill Deſign and much more a Good one.

And pray what ſort of Men are moſt likely to Maintain a Government, and to purſue the Methods it preſcribes, vigorouſly and faithfully, but thoſe who are entirely ſatisfy'd with it? Thoſe who like it but by halves, will ſerve it ſo; they will be ever foiſting in their new Models tho' not near ſo good as the old. They will contrive Miſcarriages on purpoſe, which ſhall ſeem to reſult from the old Form, that ſo they may recommend their New-fangled way. The Prince and the Government will draw one way, and ſuch an Unnatural Miniſtry another, ſo that there will be a perpetual Struggle, and the very beſt Event will be another ſhameful change of hands, of which we have formerly had Experience. And as the Paſſions of thoſe who are laid aſide, will be more exaſperated for this Reaſon, than if they had never been employ'd; ſo by having been let into Councils they will be more capable of doing miſchief, and the Majeſty and Authority of Government will be rendred Contemptible, 'twill loſe its Reverence in the Peoples hearts, which is a main handle to move them by, and is the Reaſon why moſt Governments are more happy and more applauded in their Beginnings than in their Progreſs. The Felicity of a Reign declining, in proportion as the Reverence and Opinion the People have of their Governor leſſens.

Now tho' ſome would inſinuate, that thoſe may be *well affected* and True to the Government, (for unleſs they are *true*, they are not capable of Serving it, which is what they contend for) who are but *Occaſional Conformiſts*: *Well affected* to the *Civil* Government, I ſuppoſe they mean, ſince 'tis evident they are not ſo to the *Eccleſiaſtical*. For tho' they can for certain Reaſons comply with it *Occaſionally*, yet they *Statedly* ſhew their Diſlike of it, or at leaſt their avow'd Preference of ſomething elſe. Yet even this good Affection is *gratis Dictum*, and ſooner ſaid than prov'd: for ſuppoſing them true to the Civil Part of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, yet this is not, can't by any Logic be call'd a being true to the Government; for all honeſt *Engliſh-men* are convinced that the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution is as much a part of the Government as the Civil, it is ſo in *this* Reign at leaſt. They are well aſſur'd of Her Majeſty's irreproachable Honour and Integrity, they know that her Judg-

P. 14. P. 35. P. 26, 27.

ment

ment and Affections tye her immoveably to the Church of *England*, they have had it out of her own Royal Mouth, and perhaps ſome may reckon this her only Fault, as others may count it not the meaneſt of her Princely Vertues. They know ſhe has ſworn to maintain the Rights and Privileges of the Church, at the ſame time and with the ſame Solemnity that ſhe confirm'd *Magna Charta*, and therefore they are ſure of both. Let thoſe therefore who are better at Syllogiſm than I am, infer if they can, that thoſe who are not true to the Church can be true to the Government, let them clear their Propoſition of Contradiction and Impoſſibility, whilſt we paſs on to conſider,

P. 24. Our Author's Reaſons why *the imploying of Moderate Diſſenters or Occaſional Conformiſts, in Publick Truſts, is ſo far from being Prejudicial to the Church, that it really ſtrengthens it.* And theſe are, Becauſe in the firſt place he ſuppoſes them to P. 26. be *generally Men of Piety and Moderation*, and the Church-man, ſuch at leaſt as are moſt *zealous* for Uniformity, to be *vicious and prophane.*

That the State is beſt Serv'd by Men of Piety, of Morals and Conſcience which is true Honour, no body that pretends to any of theſe will deny, nay even ſuch as make Shipwreck of them all will be ready enough to own, when it is not a bar to their own Preferment. But that the *Diſſenters* and *Occaſional Conformiſts*, are theſe Men of Piety and Vertue, who in point of Good Morals out-top all their Neighbours, I doubt won't be ſo readily allow'd. For it has not yet appear'd that the great Sticklers for *Occaſional Conformity* are more Juſt in their Dealings between Man and Man, more pure and peaceable in their Converſation; that they practiſe more faithfully that St. Jam. 1. 27. *pure and undefil'd Religion* which as the Apoſtle tells us, Conſiſts in Miniſtring to our poor and afflicted Brethren, and in keeping *our ſelves unſpotted from the World*; alas! the World is tenacious, there's a certain Bird-lime in it that ſticks to all our Fingers. And as for the other part of Purity, tho' the Diſſenting Brethren may act with greater Caution and Secrecy, yet as many People affirm, they are not leſs Lewd upon *Occaſion* than their Neighbours.

Hypocriſie to be ſure is as great an Immorality as any can be, 'tis a Complication of Vice and Impiety, a Sin which the Mouth of our Lord has blaſted with the ſharpeſt Reprimands, who always ſhews the higheſt Deteſtation of any thing that is in the leaſt tainted with it, or makes any ſort of Approach

to

Approach towards it. And this Sin we know has been always laid at the Diſſenters door, and is more eſpecially objected to *Occaſional Conformiſts*. Our Author tells us indeed, that *their Accuſers have not attempted to make good their Charge, nor is it capable of a colourable Proof*; let us then for a while take Cognizance of this Matter. P. 6

As all kinds of Impoſing upon our Neighbour either by Word or Deed, of ſeeming to be other than what we are, is either a Lye or a Cheat, or ſome ſort of Diſſimulation: So Diſſembling in Matters of Religion, a Profeſſion of that Piety which we do not find at heart, and which does not influence all our Actions, but which we only put on in Appearance, upon Occaſion, and to ſerve a turn; a ſeeming to act upon Religious Motives when we are only, or chiefly mov'd by Secular, is *Hypocriſy*. And this is the great Aggravation of its guilt, that at the ſame time it makes a mighty Profeſſion of Religion, and ſhews wonderful Zeal for it, it gives Religion the deepeſt Wounds. And becauſe the Church-men conclude that this is evidently the Practice of the Diſſenters, therefore they accuſe them of Hypocriſy, for which they think they have the following Reaſons.

The only End of Religious Aſſemblies they tell us, is in the *Pſalmiſt*'s Phraſe, to *worſhip the Lord with holy Worſhip*, but the Diſſenters do not come to our Churches upon this Account. For if they approve our Worſhip, why do they at any time Separate from it? Eſpecially ſince they themſelves acknowledge *that a Conjunction with the Church at this time is ſo very neceſſary to obviate the pernicious and complicated Deſigns of* France *and* Rome; and that we have ſo much Reaſon to dread *the fatal Conſequences of* our Enemies *Union and of our own Diviſions*. P. 34. P. *ult.*

And yet more eſpecially, ſince the Goſpel ſo often and ſo pathetically injoyns Unity of Affection and Unity of Worſhip, making *Schiſm*, which every body allows to be a *Cauſleſs Diviſion, a work of the Fleſh*, and ranking it among the moſt enormous Sins; which one would think ſhould weigh very much with Chriſtians, Proteſtants, ſuch as profeſs the greateſt Purity and Perfection, and are for Conforming only to expreſs Words of Scripture! Phil. 2. 1, *&c.* Rom. 15. 5, 6. — 16. 17, 18. 1 Cor. 3. 4. Gal. 5. 20.

And if dividing from a Church with which we may lawfully Communicate by our own Confeſſion, and do think fit to Communicate upon Occaſion, be not a *Cauſleſs Separation*, I pray what is? For as for Pleas of Purer Ordinances and

greater Edification (which will be conſider'd more fully hereafter,) unleſs we know what they mean and where they will fix, they deſtroy all Order and Unity, hindring that Edification they pretend to ſeek, and which without queſtion is much better found in a ſtrict Obſervance of what GOD's Word ſo frequently and ſo preſſingly Commands, than in following our own Fancies.

So that if the Diſſenter can Conform ſometimes, either he thinks Conformity is not abſolutely Unlawful, and then what can juſtifie his Separation, ſo oppoſite to many plain Precepts, and ſo contrary to the very Deſign of the Goſpel? Or if he judges Conformity to be abſolutely Unlawful then his Conſcience can allow him *ſometimes*, in that which he owns to be Unlawful; and what muſt every honeſt Man think of ſuch a Conſcience? So that upon the whole matter, it can't be Conſcience, whatever elſe it is, that keeps him from the National Church, and if not Conſcience as He pretends, (becauſe nothing but Conſcience can excuſe his Separation) conſequently he diſſembles in Matters of Religion; his *Occaſional Conformity* is not founded on a Religious, but on a Secular Motive, and therefore he is an Hypocrite.

The Reader is Judge of the Force of this Argument: thoſe to be ſure who never come to Church but for a Place, have no way to avoid it. For as the Lords in their Debate upon the Bill very forcibly argue, *the Diſſenters have determined the Point againſt themſelves by this Practice, for if they can Conform for a Place, much more ought they to do ſo in Compliance with the Law and for the ſake of Unity.* We have then a very great Authority that the *Law* as well as the Goſpel expects *Conformity, notwithſtanding the Toleration.* And conſequently tho' *Non-Conformity* is not Penal ſince the Toleration Act, yet it is not *allow'd*, it is not a *Compliance with the Law.* And that it is *a Scandal to Religion that Perſons ſhould conform only for a Place*, is a Brand of Infamy that the Lords have ſet upon that Practice, ſo far is that moſt Honourable Houſe from Countenancing *Non-Conformity* as our Author would ſeem to inſinuate in ſome of his Remarques.

Proceedings of the Lords, Oct. P. 31.

Ib. P. 27.

Indeed our Author himſelf *does not go about to juſtifie any that Conform merely for a Place.* This is as he allows, ſo *ſcandalous a Practice*, ſuch *a Reproach to Religion*, ſo *offenſive to good Chriſtians*, that the moſt Zealous Advocates for *Occaſional Conformity* muſt needs diſallow it in Theory, how much Service ſo-

Moderation a Vertue, p. 7.

ever

ever the practiſe does them. But he would inſinuate that no Diſſenters are guilty of it, by his doubt; *if there be any ſuch.* The Two Houſes of Parliament it ſeems thought there was no doubt of it laſt Winter, and therefore they were for reſtraining ſo groſs a Practiſe, and it is no hard Queſtion, whether they or our Author are the better Judges. As for thoſe who *have always declar'd againſt a Total Separation* as he tells us, and *Practis'd Occaſional Conformity without any Proſpects of Temporal Advantage*, if there be any ſuch, whatever defence they may make againſt the charge of Hypocriſy, yet how they will rid their hands of the Schiſm, which is as bad, of the Scandal they give, by laying ſuch a ſtumbling Block in their Neighbour's way, as may tempt them to Total Separation, and of fomenting Diviſions and weakning the Proteſtant Intereſt, is another Queſtion. P. 13.

But further, Men who pretend to *exacter Diſcipline*, *better Gifts*, *greater Purity and Perfection*, muſt Act conſiſtently with theſe Profeſſions, or elſe they are Hypocrites. Now tho' Chriſtianity does not reſtrain us from following our Lawful Secular Employments in a *Moderate* way, yet it very much takes off the heart from ſuch ſort of Employment, where-ever it has its full power and efficacy, propoſing a better Intereſt and nobler Buſineſs to employ the Mind. So that a real Chriſtian, eſpecially one of the upper Form, tho' he does not altogether neglect the Affairs of this Life, yet he purſues them but coldly, the things of a Better take up his Care and excite his moſt vigorous endeavours. He will not therefore think himſelf injur'd, but oblig'd, by being diſengag'd from this World, and left at full Liberty to purſue the great Concerns of the next. For that the Buſineſs of a Chriſtian, of one who is ſo in Deed as well as in Name, is *to ſeek the Kingdom of GOD and his Righteouſneſs*, without Solicitude for other things, is ſo plainly the import of the Goſpel, that none who are in any meaſure acquainted with thoſe ſacred Oracles can queſtion it. This then will be the Diſſenters Practiſe, if he really ſtudies *greater Edification*, and ſeeks for *Purer Ordinances:* But if inſtead of this, he Intrigues and makes a buſtle for ſecular Ends: if he would have the World believe he is Perſecuted, that Conſcience and all is at Stake, when no other Injury is done him but the freeing him from the *Trouble* of ſome ſecular Employment, or if you will from the *Profits* and *Power*, things that do not uſe to be ſought by the more perfect Chriſtians; See Page 11, 12, 29. 2 Tim. 2. 4. Mat. 6. 24. &c.

'tis pretty Evident that he is upon a level with his Neighbours, that *the Power of Practical Religion is* not at all *more visibly kept up* by him than by other Men; and therefore if he pretends it is, he is no better than a Hypocrite.

Page 12.

P. 14

If indeed he pleads his Birthright as an *English*-Man, and tells that he is *as much born to serve his Queen and Country as other Man, and as well affected*: this is of different consideration, and the Government is to judge how far it thinks fit to accept his Service; a very considerable part of the Legislature assuring us, that " they look on the fixing of Qualifications " for Places of Trust, to be a thing so entirely Lodg'd with the " Legislature, that without giving any reason for it, upon " any apprehension of Danger, how remote soever, every " Government may put such Rules, Restraints, or Conditions " on all who serve in any Place of Trust, as they shall see " cause for. But then if our Dissenter offers that Plea, he he quits his pretence to the other of being a better Christian, and sinks down into the Lower Form of the poor *undisciplin'd*, *unedify'd* Church-Men, who with all their faults, can do no worse than scramble with him for Preferment. In fine, if only Men of Honour, that is, Men of Conscience and Religion, are to be Prefer'd, for ought that yet appears, they are not to be pick'd out from among Occasional Conformists. But we shall have occasion to enquire more fully hereafter, whether Religion or Secular Interest be that which influences the Dissenters, as also to give some pregnant Proofs how *faithfully* they have *serv'd the Government*, and consequently how true our Author's Inference is, that therefore their *being in Power can no way hurt the Church.*

Proceedings of the Lords Octavo, p. 31.

P. 26.

P. 36.

We are also told of Princes *who understood their own Interest better than to exclude Persons from publick Places, for their being Dissenters from the Religion of the State*; And that there is danger too in excluding Dissenters. For if the *Occasional Conformist's Moderation towards the National Church should be interpreted a Crime in 'em, and prove the occasion of new hardships to them, it may tempt them to espouse severer Principles of Non-Conformity than yet they have done, and to strengthen themselves by a Total Separation from the Church.* As much as to say, that, Conscience apart, if they can't compass their ends one way, they must try to do it another. Now is it not kindly done to tell the Church her danger, and what she may expect? if she will needs draw it upon her own head, the *harmless, Conscientious Dissenter* has discharg'd himself by this seasonable warning,

P. 29, 30.

so

ſo let her look to't. Or if this is only Thunder without a Bolt, 'tis however a piece of Friendſhip, to open their Reſerves, to let us a little into the Myſtery, and to tell us what may be done in a convenient ſeaſon, and when it ſhall be moſt for their Intereſt!

But ſays our Author, *the late Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity would have been highly Prejudicial to the Church of England.* Page 30. It would be too much Preſumption for a private Hand either to Juſtify or Condemn it, after the Two Houſes of Parliament have declared their ſenſe for the matter. And therefore, not to enter upon the Merits of the Bill, we ſhall only obſerve to our Author, what pity it was that ſo many of the Churches moſt Faithful Sons as promoted that Bill, did not conſult him before they propos'd and Voted for it! Now theſe worthy Gentlemen, and others of their Principles are apt to tell us, that tho' the *Church of England* has given evident Proof that no Provocations can tempt her to ſhut her Arms againſt ſuch as ſincerely deſire to be comprehended in her Communion; or leſſen her Charity and forbearance towards thoſe whoſe Conſciences are truly tender, to whom ſhe ſhews all that Indulgence which a Prudent and Affectionate Mother can expreſs towards her froward Children: Yet GOD be thanked ſhe has Diſcernment enough to diſtinguiſh between her Real and Pretended Friends. She knows too well that Falſe Friends who wear her Livery that they may more effectually betray her, are abundantly more dangerous than open and declared Enemies, according to what the Great Poet made his *Æneas* obſerve many Ages ago, and indeed it may paſs for a Maxim,

What Diomede, *nor* Thetis *greater Son*,
A thouſand Ships, *nor ten Years Siege had done*,
Falſe Tears *and* Fawning Words *the City won.*

Now there is but one ſure Defence againſt Treachery that I know of, and that is *Not to Truſt*; and as the World goes, one of the kindeſt things we can do to our ſelves or our Neighbours, is not to give them the Temptation, nor put it into their power to hurt us. People are grown too Crafty, I ſhould ſay too Wiſe, now a-days, to be Generous, and to think to gain them by Candor and noble Uſage, is only to expoſe your ſelf to Injuries and to aggravate their Crimes. Condeſcentions are taken for weakneſſes, they do not ſerve to conciliate Differences, but to ſtrengthen the oppoſite Party and encreaſe their Demands. They who find you ſo Good-Natur'd or ſo Chari-

Charitable as to grant them *ſome* things, take occaſion from thence to conclude you ſo ſoft as to comply with them in *all*. At leaſt they believe themſelves ſo ſtrong as to be able to wreſt from you what they pleaſe. But tho' Private Perſons may ſatisfie themſelves in the Grandure of their own Minds, and the Beauty of their Actions, without conſidering what ill uſe People of little Spirits may make of them; tho' a Brave Mind may ſacrifice its own particular Intereſts to Vertue and Honour as oft as it finds it has the Generoſity to do it; the Publick is to be conducted by other meaſures, we are not to expoſe it to danger, or ſuffer it to run a riſque on any pretence whatſoever. but muſt defend it to the utmoſt by all ſuch ways as become worthy Patriots, and bring no diſparagement on the Cauſe we eſpouſe, ſuch I mean as are Lawful and Honourable.

Hence it is that our Legiſlators who began very gently with all ſorts of Recuſants according to the mildneſs of our Government, have found it neceſſary to encreaſe their caution, and diſcern by experience that the only way to be ſafe againſt the Papiſts, and by Analogy againſt all other Diſſenters, who are more or leſs Enemies to the Government, by reaſon they Diſſent from it, is to follow the Politick and Prudent Method of our Allies the *Dutch*, who exclude them totally from all ſhare in the Adminiſtration: But how and by what Methods this is to be perform'd, is their Buſineſs, and belongs not to private Perſons. All the Objections that have hitherto been rais'd againſt this, are Sophiſms and not Arguments, and mean no more than that the Diſſenters are very loth to be ſhut out of the Adminiſtration, which they know would leſſen their Party, and leave them no hopes of mounting into the Saddle, which is indeed a very ſubſtantial Reaſon with them, but none with the Government, or with any that are truly its Friends.

For pray, are not the common Objections, (viz.) *that the excluding Diſſenters from the Government, ſtrikes at the Act of Toleration; that it will be a Diſcouragement to Trade; Create Diviſions at home, and give Umbrage to our Allies of the Reformed Religion abroad*, what are they but meer Sophiſms? For he who can think at all, can't but diſcern at firſt View, the great Difference there is between Tolerating Scrupulous Conſciences, and the letting cunning and deſigning Men into the Government, or indeed any ſort of Men who do not heartily approve it.

it. For unleſs they are Men of Parts they are not capable of doing Service; and if they have good Senſe, to be ſure they will not imploy it as they ought; nor uſe it in the Service of that which their Judgments don't throughly agree to. Our Allies the *Dutch* are ſo wiſe as to be aware of this, and therefore tho' they grant the Diſſenters a Toleration, yet they exclude them from the Government. Nor do we find this any Hindrance to their Trade, or that it gives any Apprehenſions or Uneaſineſs either to their own Subjects or to any Strangers that Settle among them. On the contrary it encourages Induſtry and advances Trade, by quieting the Minds of the People, and ſecuring their Property: For ſo long as there are contending Parties, conſiderable enough to make the Government change hands as each of them get ground, inſtead of attend the Publick Good, Men are only buſy in ſtrengthening their Party, neglecting or depreſſing every one, tho' ever ſo uſeleſs to the Publick, who will not be ſerviceable to them. The Commonwealth is never free from thoſe Inteſtine Struggles which are the Convulſions of a State, and certain Fore-runners of its Ruin, or at leaſt its Decay, which is the greateſt Diſcouragement to Induſtry and Trade; for who will care to venture much in ſuch a Bottom, where the Common Safety is neglected, and that Protection and Encouragement is not afforded which every good Subjects expects and ought to receive?

And as for Diviſions, honeſt and undeſigning Men will be where they were, they will not further Divide from us; and if the Crafty and Deſigning are Diſtinguiſh'd and Separated, this will make for our Advantage and Strengthen us. They who are *not for us* in this Caſe *are againſt us*, they weaken and undermine us; but when they ſee there is nothing to be got by Diviſions, they will let them drop. So that inſtead of *widening our Breaches at a very unſeaſonable Juncture*, P. 34. it will be the way to cloſe them. Our Governors to be ſure know beſt how to repair our Breaches, and to prevent their being daub'd with untemper'd Mortar.

Nor will our Allies and the Reformed Churches abroad take Umbrage; they are too wiſe and too juſt to take notice how we act with our own Subjects; or to be concern'd what Meaſures we take for our Domeſtick Security, any more than we concern our ſelves with theirs. And they muſt have a very extraordinary knack at drawing Inferences, who can infer that becauſe the Eſtabliſh'd Church endeavours to reſtrain her own Members

Members from dividing from her into Separate Aſſemblies,
P. 34. therefore ſhe *divides from other Reform'd Churches.* Or that becauſe ſhe can't acquit her own Members of Schiſm who cauſleſly Separate from her, that therefore She imputes it to Foreign and Siſter Churches, over whom She has no Juriſdiction, with whom her Members who happen to be in their Diſtricts, make no ſcruple to Communicate, any more than their Members do to Communicate with her when they are in *England!* And beſides 'tis notoriouſly known, that the Reform'd Churches abroad have always diſallow'd the Separation our Diſſenters make, they have ever lamented it, and ſuch of them as had not the Civil Government on their Side in their own Countries, would have thought themſelves happy had they been allow'd to Communicate with the National Church, on ſuch eaſie terms as our Diſſenters may with the *Church* of *England.*

Having done with our Author's Reaſons againſt the Bill about *Occaſional Conformity*, let us now conſider what he offers for the Separation. And as far as he will afford us any light
P. 29. the Reaſons are, " The Purity of Divine Ordinances; the Ex-
" erciſe of Spiritual Diſcipline; the Teſtimony which their
" Miniſters bear againſt Sinful Impoſitions; and their own
" Edification". Theſe they think " are no Indifferent things;
" and theſe determine many Conſciencious Chriſtians for *Non-*
" *conformity*, who yet dare not totally Separate from the *Church*
P. 16. " of *England*". The *Church uſes a Liturgy*, the *Diſſenters*
P. 11, 17. *uſe none*, for a Liturgy, would reſtrain *their Gifts*; they differ
P. 18. alſo in their *Ordinations* and in a *few Ceremonies*; and I think I have done my Author no Injury in ſumming up his Evidence.

But may not one reaſonably conclude, that theſe Pleas would as well keep them from Uniting with any Church in the Chriſtian World as with the *Church* of *England?* Would they not make them Separate from *Paul* or *Apollos*, or even from Chriſt himſelf? This *has* been the Caſe, and the ſame Reaſons have been offer'd, and therefore what has been may be. Our *Pub-*
P. 16. *lick Worſhip*, our *Prayers*, *Praiſes*, *Sacraments* and *Preaching*, *are* by their own Confeſſion, *for Subſtance the ſame.* Does Sitting at the Sacrament then, which is not ſo humble a Poſture as Kneeling, render that Ordinance more Pure with them than it is with us when Receiv'd in a Devouter Poſture? Or are the Publick Prayers hallow'd by a Cloak and Prophan'd by a Surplice? The Impoſition is the ſame on each Side, for they make

make the wearing *no Surplice*, &c. as much *a Condition of Miniſtring and enjoining Ordinances* in their Congregations as the wearing *one* is in the Epiſcopal Church. And ſince *ſome* Habit and *ſome* Geſture muſt of Neceſſity be *Us'd*, and ſome *Injoyn'd* if we mean to obey St. *Paul*'s Canon for Order and Decency; are not Sitting at the Lord's Supper, and Adminiſtring Divine Ordinances in a Cloak, neither more nor leſs *Ceremonies* and *Humane Mixtures*, than Kneeling and a Surplice? Eſpecially ſince our Church does not make them *Symbolical Signs*, as our Author would inſinuate in one place, but ſince they are uſed in the *Church of England not as any parts of Worſhip, but as things Indifferent in their own Nature, and Decent in their Uſe*, as forgetting himſelf he owns, and more truly affirms in another. So that *this Difference is of no Conſequence*, (what Pity then that the Church ſhould be divided about it!) becauſe neither the *Uſe of them*, nor the Omiſſion, *makes the Worſhip of GOD better, or more acceptable to GOD, or derogates from the Perfection of Goſpel Ordinances.*

P. 12. 1 Cor. 14. 40 P. 19. P. 12. P. 19. P. 19.

And if it is not the *Uſe* of theſe *Accidentals* that taints the Ordinance, it is not, it cannot be the *Injoyning* of them that renders it leſs Pure: For certainly Chriſtians who have ſuch frequent Lectures read them by *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, of Obedience to Superiors, won't offer this for a Reaſon! An indifferent thing may become Neceſſary in Obedience to the Command of a Lawful Superior; but ſuch a Command can never make that become Sinful, which was in its own Nature Indifferent. For *Obedience to them who have the Rule over us* whether in Church or State, is no Indifferent Duty.

Heb 13. 17. Tit. 3. 1. 1 St. Pet. 2. 13, &c.

What then is this *Teſtimony which their Miniſters bear againſt Sinful Impoſitions?* If our Worſhip or any thing it enjoyns is *Sinful*, 'tis Evil in it ſelf, and therefore a Conſcientious Diſſenter can at no time and upon no Occaſion joyn in it, and ſo there's an End of *Occaſional Conformity*. But if our Worſhip is Lawful when there's ſomething to be got by't, and Unlawful and Sinful when a Diſſenter is to keep up the Separation and his own Maintenance, this is a Reaſon with a Witneſs' and I have no more to ſay to't.

P. 29.

But ſays our Author, the Diſſenters *find themſelves better-edified* in a Separate Congregation than in the Legal Churches; *The Preaching of Diſſenting Miniſters is generally more cloſe, Methodical and Lively.* Well! there is an old Saying that Taſt is not to be Diſputed, ſo that if they will ſay they are more

P. 29. P. 12.

Edify'd, meaning more *Pleas'd*, we can't contradict them. But Chriſtian Edification is another thing, it does not conſiſt in the Gratification of the Fancy, but in the Improvement of Chriſtian Graces, ſuch as Humility, Meekneſs, Peace, Charity, Unity and Obedience to Lawful Superiors; And when the Diſſenters come to be thus Edify'd, we ſhall have the Satisfaction of ſeeing a happy End of the Separation.

Indeed Pretences to greater Edification are endleſs, one knows not what they mean, or what they would be at, they may carry us from an Apoſtle, nay even from *Chriſt* himſelf,
1 Cor. v. 12, 13. & 3. 3. as they did the *Corinthians*. They deſtroy all Order and Diſcipline, they leave a Man at liberty to be of *Any* Congregation and conſequently of *None*: And are ſo far from rendring ſuch Pretenders Spiritual and Perfect Chriſtians, that in the Apoſtles Account they prove them *Carnal*; People led by Partiality, Curioſity, or ſome other Paſſion, and not by a Sincere Deſire to Learn and to Obey the Will of GOD.

What is it but Obedience that renders our Worſhip acceptable to the Almighty? and therefore tho' it be never ſo Pure and ſo extraordinary, as we may think, unleſs it is perform'd according to his Directions it is of no Value. And that *Chriſt* expects His Church ſhould be *One*, in the ſtricteſt Senſe it is capable, is evident, as from ſeveral Places of Holy Writ, ſo
St. John 17. 11, 21, *&c.* particularly from our Lord's Divine Prayer the Night before he was Betray'd, in which he makes it his Requeſt to his Father, that Believers thro' all ſucceeding Ages *may be One, as thou Father art in Me and I in Thee, that they alſo may be One in Us*; and to engage them to it the moſt effectually, he adds this
—V. 21. Reaſon, *That the World may believe that Thou haſt Sent Me.* Such then as make Diviſions in the Church of *Chriſt*, do all that in them lies to have our Deareſt Lord paſs for an Impoſtor.

P. 12. He therefore who is a True Chriſtian, and of a Truly *Catholick Spirit*, and who *Practiſes a Catholick Communion of Saint*, muſt keep *Conſtant* Communion with the National and Particular Church, where the Providence of GOD has plac'd him, if ſo be he can at all or Occaſionally Communicate with it, without violating his Conſcience; otherwiſe neither the Holy Scriptures nor the Primitive Writers will allow him to be of a
P. 13. *Catholick Spirit*, or to *belong to the Myſtical Body* of *Chriſt*.
Rom. 15. 6. We muſt have but *One Heart and One Mouth* if we deſire to *Glorify GOD* in a Manner acceptable to him. Upon which Words

Words of the Apoſtle, Judicious *Calvin*, a Man whoſe Authority our *Occaſional Conformiſts* I ſuppoſe won't queſtion, has this Reflection. " Let no Man boaſt in himſelf that he will " Glorify GOD after his own Manner, for GOD has ſuch " Regard to Concent in His Service, that He will not have " His Glory ſet forth by the Mouths of thoſe that Separate " and Diſagree.

Weare alſo told by *A Vindication of the Presbyterial Government and Miniſtry*, Printed 1649. a Time when they were Uppermoſt, and ſpake their Sentiments without Reſerve *, That *that Doctrine which crieth up* Purity *to the Ruin of* Unity, *is contrary to the Doctrine of the Goſpel.* And that *that Religion which carries in the Front of it a Toleration of Different Religions, and is not ſufficient to keep the Body of Chriſt in* Unity *and* Purity, *is not the Government of* Chriſt. P. 124

Another Reaſon our Author gives for the Separation, is becauſe the Church *obliges her Miniſters to pray by an impos'd Liturgy, which allows little room for the exerciſe of the Gift of Prayer*; and here lies the Myſtery of Edification! Tho' if you will believe *John Goodwin* a great Diſſenter, the Church of *England* is not the only Impoſer. For as he tells us, " The Way Sir- " named *Presbyterian*, conjures all Mens Gifts, Parts and In- " duſtry, into a Synodical Circle, and ſuffers them only to " Dance there.— The *Presbyterian* is a Bloody, Unpeaceable " and Perſecuting Way, a way much damping and deading " the Flouriſhing Improvements of the *Gifts* and *Graces* of the " Saints". And as another Independant tells us, " When " they [the Presbyterians] prevail'd for a Bill to damn Epi- " ſcopacy Root and Branch, that Presbytery might ſucceed " it,— nothing was abated which concern'd either Wealth or " Juriſdiction, only an Epiſcopal Tyranny exchang'd for a " Presbyterial Slavery. Such an Oracle of Infallibility, ſays " another, and ſuch a Supremacy, as no *True-bred-Engliſh-* " *Chriſtian*, can interpret for other than Antichriſtian Ty- " ranny, and all under the Name of a Chriſtian Presbyterian " Church Government". For as the ſame Perſon ſays in his Dedication, " The Presbyterians Ordinary Counſels drive at two " main things (yet both reduc'd to one head, to wit Tyranny.) " The one Tyranny over our Bodies, Eſtates, Free-holds, " Liberties, Laws, and Birth-rights of all Engliſh Free-born " Subjects: The other, Tyranny over our Souls and Con- " ſciences". But letting this paſs as the Clamor of a few

* P. 11.

In his Theomachia, *p.* 33.

Anſwer to Prny's 12 *Queries*, p. 19.

Bu ton's Conformity, Deformity, *p.* 21. 1646.

Independants when the Presbyterians had got the whip-hand of them.

The Eſtabliſh'd Worſhip, ſays our Author, would not permit Diſſenting Miniſters to make the beſt advantage of their Talents; and is it not better, ſay I, and more for Edification, that the Church of G O D ſhould be rent in pieces, than that the ſeable Men ſhould not ſhew their Gifts!

But would not this be an Objection againſt any Liturgy, tho' compos'd by an Apoſtle, by an Angel, or even by G O D Himſelf, as well as againſt the Liturgy of the Church of *England?* a great part of which is the very word of G O D, to wit, the Pſalms, the Leſſons, and moſt of the Hymns, the Lord's-Prayer, and the Commandments, and all the reſt, either Scripture Expreſſions, Rationally and Gravely put together, or elſe what is Analogous thereto, and conformable in all reſpects to the Senſe of Holy Scripture. Will any one ſay then, that all Miniſters can Pray ſo well as the Liturgy? if he does, let Experience convince him. Our Author does not
Page 16. pretend it, for he tells us, " That the Diſſenters don't ſcru-
" ple all uſe of Forms of Prayer, but they like not the im-
" poſing of them to be us'd conſtantly, without variation
" by ſuch Miniſters as can pray without them. Do they
Matth. 6. then think it better to venture that Tautology our Lord forbids, that Indecency and Irregularity, to ſay no worſe, to which *ex tempore* effuſions are liable, in thoſe at leaſt, who are *not able* to pray, and who, no doubt will be as forward to ſhew their Gift as the beſt, ſince they are left to be Judges of their own Abilities, than to ſtifle the Gifts of thoſe *that are?*

If this is their Opinion, I would deſire them to conſider a Paſſage, which it may be worth their while to give a full and clear Anſwer to. A certain Divine of the Church of *England*, whoſe Preaching (to give every one their due,) is not leſs *cloſe*, *methodical*, *and lively* than the beſt one has heard of among the Diſſenters; and would they vouchſafe to hear him and many others of his Brethren, 'tis like they might not be leſs Edify'd than in their own Congregations: This Divine in one of his Sermons, warns us of the " miſchief of Pride in re-
" ference to the Offices of Prayer, making that which ought
" to be the bond of Union the badge of Diſſention. And becauſe I can't Give you his Senſe in better words, you ſhall have it

it in his own. " Few of us (ſays he) can be ignorant of the " expedience of Publick Liturgies, or of the conſtant uſe of " them in all Ages of the Church, or of the particular excel- " lency of ours of the Church of *England*, than which, what " Prayers can be more Piouſly conceiv'd, or more ſenſibly " expreſt, or more wiſely accommodated to all humane ex- " igencies? And yet, this notwithſtanding, we ſee it come " to paſs that the joining in theſe Prayers, is not only negle- " cted by multitudes of People, but it is counted a ſort of A- " bomination, and made a matter of Schiſm: And now whence " comes all this miſchief, but only from the Pride of thoſe " Men, who were reſolv'd to draw all reſpect from the Pub- " lick Prayers, that they might transfer it upon their own " Gifts? Thoſe who imagin'd that there were more Charms " in their own Conceptions than in the Publick, and that the " uſe of ſuch a borrowed Form, would bring a Scandal upon " their own Affluence; as *Naaman* the Leper thought that " his waſhing in *Jordan* would be an Affront to *Abana* and *Phar-* " *par*, all which is no other than a meer Phrenzy of Pride. Mr. *Young's* Sermons *Vol.* I. *P.* 139. 140.

But what is it they mean by this *Gift of Prayer*, which the Liturgy won't allow them room to exerciſe? is it Infus'd or Acquir'd? tho' *Acquir'd* is a very improper Epithet for a Gift, but thoſe who force one upon Non-ſenſe, ought to bear the reproach of it. They will not ſay it is Infus'd, or an Immediate Inſpiration from the Holy Spirit; for beſides the Blaſphemy of aſcribing all the Speakers weakneſſes, to ſay no worſe, to the Spirit of GOD, this would be to ſet up ſo many New Evangeliſts and New Canons of Scripture, and ſuch too as would not agree among themſelves, and their Authority being equal, we ſhould not know which we were to follow.

Theſe Gifts then muſt be Acquir'd, meer natural Qualifications, and ſo we know they are; for fluency of Expreſſion is a meer Humane Art, which a Man may have in great Perfection, who is notwithſtanding, Deſtitute of Divine Grace. Indeed ſo far is the Volubility of Tongue from being any Evidence of the Devotion of the Heart, that on the contrary, when the Deſires are truly Fervent and Pathetic, they are too big for Words, and to uſe a Scripture Phraſe, are expreſs'd *in Groans that can't be utter'd.* The only way then to know whether a Man Prays with his Heart as well as with his Lips, is, to obſerve whether he puts his Petitions in Practice and Lives according to his Prayers. If this is his Caſe we may Rom. 8. 26.

ſafely

ſafely conclude he is Devout; that he heartily Deſires the Graces he asks and that GOD has granted his Requeſt, by enabling him to ſhew forth the Grace of GOD in *an Holy and Chriſtian Converſation.* Otherwiſe let his Gift of Prayer be what it may, the Man is Carnal; and to break the Peace and Unity of the Church, rather than want an Opportunity of diſplaying his Gift, is nothing elſe in plain Engliſh but a vain Oſtentation, no very good End for an humble and Conſcientious Chriſtian to Contend about.

But Humility and Reverence to Superiors, even to GOD Himſelf are it ſeems left out of ſome People's Catalogue of Graces; or elſe we ſhould not have had it made a Queſtion.

Page 17. *If* Miniſters *are fit to deliver a Meſſage from GOD to the People by Preaching, why not as fit to deliver the People's Meſſage to GOD by Praying?* As if there were no difference between GOD and the People! but as much Reverence were due to the one as to the other! Nay one would think that the Greater Veneration is paid to the People; for we are told that *Preaching requires greater Abilities than Praying*, and therefore *there is more reaſon why Men ſhould be allow'd to make their own Prayers*, than to compoſe their own Sermons!

P. 17.

There are ſome folks we know who not only ſet the People on a Level with GOD's Vicegerent, but even give them the Upper-hand, and then how eaſy is the tranſition to an Equality with GOD Himſelf! GOD ſays, *By me Kings Reign*; No, ſay ſome Men, they Reign by the People. GOD has told us that *he is the Judge*, and that it is he who *putteth down one and ſets up another.* That is ſay they, the Voice of the People is the Voice of GOD; and how can GOD Act in this Caſe but by the People? One would think by this, that thoſe Popiſh Authors who ſet up other Gods beſides the Majeſty that Reigns in Heaven, did not err in derogating from the Honour due to GOD only, but in miſ-naming their Demy-God, They ſhould not have ſaid *our Lord God the Pope*, but, *our Lord God the People*, and then it had been Orthodox Proteſtant Doctrine!

Pro. S. 15.

Pſal. 75. 7.

Another Difference between the Church and the Diſſenters, according to our Author, is in *their Ordinations*; but this he tells us is *not very conſiderable.* For the *Diſſenter allows the Validity of Epiſcopal Ordination, tho he can't ſubmit to Re-ordination; and it is agreed on both ſides that Ordination by Presbyters is Lawful in Caſes of Neceſſity; and the Diſſenter ſays, This is his Caſe, becauſe*

Page 18.

becauſe he can't come up to the Terms of Epiſcopal Ordinations: So he ſays, but I very much queſtion whether it will be allow'd to be his Caſe.

Indeed were mere *Saying* ſufficient to prove one in the Right, no body would be in the wrong; for every one has ſomething or other to ſay for himſelf, how little ſoever it agrees with Reaſon and Truth. Thus the Diſſenter tells us what *is his Caſe*; to which the Church-man replys, Is not our Church by your own Confeſſion ſupply'd with *True Miniſters, and many of them Men of great Learning and Piety?* where then lies the *Neceſſity* that the Diſſenter who can't comply with that *Outward Call* the Church requires, ſhould take upon himſelf the Miniſtry? If he pleads his *Inward Call*, ſince the Divine Diſpenſations are always Conſiſtent, and never in oppoſition to one another, this Call is but ill expreſs'd and worſe prov'd, by diſturbing Peace and Unity, by oppoſing Order and the Governours of the Church, and doing that which our Author allows is an *Irregularity*; Would not his Call, if he has one, more truly appear, and his Zeal be indeed very commendable, did it lead him to the *Indies*, put him upon Preaching the Goſpel to Infidels and Converting Unbelievers? No body would then deny that his Vocation was from GOD. But unleſs he gives better Proofs of it than hitherto appear, he muſt excuſe us from allowing he has any juſt Pretences to the Miniſtry, or can without Sacrilege take it *upon him*. For neither Abilities, the having a good ſtock of Senſe and not a little Aſſurance, and the being able to expreſs ones ſelf handſomly; no nor what is better than all other Qualifications, Holineſs of Life, founded upon True and Sound Principles, are ſufficient to make People Miniſters, Many Perſons no doubt may have theſe good Qualities, who have for all that, no other Call but to *Study to be Quiet and to do their own Buſineſs*.

P. 12.

P. 18.

1 Theſſ. 4. 11.

As for *Diſcipline*, the Churches lamenting the Want of it with Pious Grief, ought not to be made an inſidious Objection againſt Her. But whom may ſhe blame for this Want, but the Cauſleſs Separation of thoſe who by ſetting up Altar againſt Altar, make the Exerciſe of Diſcipline impracticable? For can any one think that thoſe looſe Men who break the Laws of GOD, will value the Cenſures of the Church, when they find no Shame or Temporal Puniſhments attending them? and can be received with open Arms in a Separate Congregation, when ſhe has excluded them from her Communion? Nor does the

P. 11. the Church allow a promiſcuous Admittance of all Perſons to the Lord's Table, as any one may ſee who will be pleas'd to conſult her *Rubrick* before *the Order for the Adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper*; her *Warning for the Celebration of it* the Sunday before, and her *Exhortation* at the Lord's Table.

P. 12. As for *Family Worſhip*, with the want of which the Church-
1 *S.* Pet. 4. 15. men are reproach'd; they who are *Buſie-bodies in other Mens Matters*, may, its like, pretend to give an Account of the Practice of Private Families. I own it is out of my Province. But ſo far as they can judge who ſee their Neighbours Actions and not their Hearts, allowing for the difference in Number, there are fewer ill Livers among the Church-men than the Diſſenters. This indeed one may obſerve, that the moſt part of thoſe who are the greateſt Fautors for *Occaſional Conformity*, are either profeſs'd *Deiſts* or *Socinians*, or elſe of ſuch Licentious Lives, that it matters not much what their Profeſſions
P. 12. are, ſo far is *the Power of Practical Religion from being more viſibly kept up among them* than among their Neighbours.

I have now gone over all our Author alledges for a Separation, and I deſire the impartial Reader to judge whether they are ſufficient Reaſons; and what ſort of Conſcience that is which keeps up the Separate Congregations of Diſſenters upon theſe Pretences? For what I pray is Conſcience? or how comes it that the Conſciences of our Diſſenters are ſo different from the Conſciences of all other good Proteſtants of the Reform'd Churches abroad, who if they underſtand our Language think themſelves under no Neceſſity of Diſſenting of from us, when the Providence of GOD has brought them into our Nation?

What thoſe who talk ſo much of Conſcience mean by't, I am not able to ſay, but thoſe who have *ſome Meaning*, underſtand by Conſcience that Judgment which determines a Man in the Practice of Religion. Now we know there are different ſorts of Judgments, for Inſtance, a *Sound* Judgment or *well inform'd* Conſcience, when a Man Governs himſelf according to the true Importance of the Precepts of the Goſpel; an *Erroneous* Judgment or an *erring* Conſcience when he ſwerves from them, how confident and obſtinate ſoever he be in his Error; *a weak and ſcrupulous* Judgment or Conſcience, whatever his Concluſions are, whether right or wrong, if he Doubts and Heſitates, and is not well aſſur'd whether he ſhould Approve or Condemn, Act or Forbear.

Now

Now ſure it is no hard Matter to conclude by which of theſe Judgments one ought to Act. The Sound Judgment, or the Good Conſcience that Governs it ſelf by the Meaſures of the Goſpel, without doubt ought to preſcribe. Not that I would have the weak and ſcrupulous be concluded by it without any Conſideration, but ſince they are ſo uncapable of Judging and ſo unreſolv'd themſelves, they ought to pay a mighty Deference to the well-inform'd Judgment of their Superiors, which in this caſe, if it may not Conclude for them, yet at leaſt, ſhould go very far towards the Determining their Doubts and Scruples. To be ſure, theſe weak and unreſolv'd People, ought by no means to Cenſure, to Preſcribe to, or Proſelyte others. All they can pretend to is the being Tolerated and bore with in their weakneſs, pity'd and ſet right, as ſoon as their Infirmity will allow.

As for the Erroneous, ſince Truth, every neceſſary and important Truth at leaſt, has a Native Brightneſs, an Infallible Character, whereby it may be diſtinguiſh'd by all who truly Love and Honour it, which no Man muſt pretend, who will not ſincerely lay aſide his Prejudices, Paſſions, and every little pitiful Worldly Intereſt, and attentively and diligently ſearch it out. Conſequently it muſt be a Man's own wilful Fault, ſuppoſing he has Capacity and Opportunity to enquire, if he remains in Error, to be ſure, if he is Confident and Obſtinate in it. Confidence and Obſtinacy therefore when joyned to Errour in Matters of Religion, make the true Definition of Hereſy. And in this Caſe even St. *Paul*, tho' he *became all things to all Men, that he might gain ſome*, finds it neceſſary to enjoyn *Titus*, to whoſe Epiſcopal Care he committed the Church of *Crete*, to *reject a Heretick after the firſt and ſecond Admonition*: Tit. 3. 10, 11, *Knowing that he that is ſuch is ſubverted and ſinneth being condemned of himſelf.* The Meaning of which is, that whatever Pretences ſuch a Man makes to Conſcience, he does indeed Sin againſt the Light; his Judgment, would he but honeſtly declare it, determines againſt him, but there are other private Ends ſo powerful with him as to over-rule his Judgment, and to make him ſhut his Eyes againſt the brighteſt Truth.

If then the Diſſenters are really ſo Conſcientious as they pretend, for GOD's ſake, for the Common Cauſe of the Reform'd Religion, for the ſake of their Country, and even for their *Own* ſakes, ſince they who Cauſleſly rent the Church of *Chriſt*, will in the End be the greateſt Loſers by it; let them

P. 34. contribute what they can towards closing our Divisions. Divisions which as themselves allow are at all times so fatal, which *first weaken* and then destroy the *Body Politick*, and which as they tell us are of the very worst consequence at this time. *Our Author's 3d Head* p. 15. *The Difference between the Church and Moderate Dissenters is* by their own Confession, *very little and inconsiderable. They agree in all the Essentials of Christianity and differ only in a few Accidentals. They agree in all the Articles of the Church*, except two P. 16. or three, which they call *private Articles*; *in their Publick Worship, which is for Substance the same*, and even *in their Deference to the Bishops, whom* they say *they highly Honour for their eminent Zeal in defending the Protestant Religion and English Liberties.* P. 15. Nor do they *scruple a Moderate Episcopacy.* They *agree in a hearty opposition to Popery*, in *a firm Adherence to her Majesty and the Succession*; they *have taken the same Oaths and are resolv'd to keep them.* Now if all this is true, if it be more than Words, *Why should not the great things wherein they agree be more powerful to unite them than the lesser things wherein they differ, are to divide them?*

In such a Case as this, wherein the Honour and Interest of Religion in General, and of the Reformation in Particular are so much concern'd, Christians, one would think, should not stand upon point of Ceremony, who shall make the first Step towards a Union! Or if a first Step must be made, sure both in Decency, in Reason, and which is above all, in Obedience to Heb. 13. 17. the Divine Commands, so plainly laid down in Holy Scripture, 1 *S.* Pet. 2. 13, *&c.* it becomes those who have stood off from Lawful Authority, to lay aside their Stiffness, and humbly and modestly, two very Christian Qualifications, to make their Advances towards their Superiors. Especially since they are sure of being receiv'd as the Father receiv'd his returning Prodigal, with open Arms. For *God*'s sake where lies the hindrance? It can't be that Christians, Reform'd, Protestant Christians, are ashamed to acknowledge a Fault and own an Error, since Christianity as to Practice, is founded on Humility and Repentance? The Church of *Rome*, indeed, tho' convinc'd of her Errors, as appears by the History of the Council of *Trent*, would not quit them lest she should give up her Infallibility; but GOD forbid that Protestants of any Denomination should be of this Temper!

By all the Condescentions the Church has made, by all the endeavours of the best and greatest Church-Men, 'tis sufficiently evident that she would do her utmost to reconcile them,

but

but alas what can do it? Let them agree, and tell us what will Unite them to the Church, or even to one another, in any thing but in endeavouring her Ruin, and they ſhall ſee how ready we will be to comprehend them. Are they not as oppoſite to one another as they are to us? only they can unite among themſelves to oppoſe the Church. Every Party as it gets into Power is for Impoſing its ſentiments on its Fellows; and they who pleaded moſt for Liberty of Conſcience, when they themſelves were not at the Helm, are the moſt violent oppoſers of it when it happens to be in their power to grant it. They who exclaim'd the moſt againſt Perſecution, become themſelves the moſt violent Perſecutors.

Indeed unleſs they will lay aſide their Prejudices and Animoſities, it is not poſſible to content them, even the Deſtruction of Epiſcopacy and the Eſtabliſh'd Church would not do it. For the Independants are as far from agreeing with the Presbyterians, or theſe with the other, as either of them are with the Church. Edward's Gangræna, Pt. 2. p. 240. 1646.

" There was never a more Hypocritical, Falſe, Diſſembling Ge-
" neration in *England*, than many of the Grandees of our Secta-
" ries. They encourage, Protect, and cry up for Saints, Sons of
" *Belial* and the vileſt of Men, ſays one Presbyterian. " Indepen-
" dents (ſays another) are moſt *obſtinate Rebels*, both in *Opinion* Colemn-ſtreet
" and *Practice* and Perfidious Violaters of ſuch a main and prin- Conclave Viſi-
" cipal Foundation, as will inevitably ruinate all other Funda- ted. Preface.
" mentals of True Religion, if allow'd unto them. As for the 1648.
Reform'd Churches in *France* they had no better opinion of them.

" For the Aſſembly of *Charenton*, judging the Sect of *Indepen-* See an Extract
" *dents* to be not only prejudicial to the Church of GOD, of the Act,
" in ſo far that it endeavours to bring in Confuſion, open- Dec. 26. 1644.
" ing a Gate to all kinds of ſingularities, and Extrava-
" gancies, and taking away all means of any Remedy to the
" Evil, but alſo moſt dangerous to the State; where (if it
" had place) there might be as many Religions ſet up, as
" there be Pariſhes, or particular Congregations; doth en-
" join to all the Provinces, and particularly to the Maritimes,
" to take heed that the evil take no foot in the Churches of
" this Kingdom, to the end that *Peace* and *Uniformity*, as
" well in Religion as in *Diſcipline*, may be *inviolably Preſerv'd*.

On the other ſide the *Independents* tell us, " That Presbytery Martin Eccho.
" is *Babylon*, *Egypt*, a Limb of *Antichriſt*, a Tyrannical Lord-
" ly Government, a worſe Bondage than that under the
" Biſhops. The Seed of GOD (ſay they) in this Nation Sterry's *Eng-*
" has had two Capital Enemys, tne *Romiſh Papacy* and the *land's Delive-*
" *Scotiſh* *rance*, p. 7.

Saltmarſh's *Anſwer to* Ley. *P.* 7. 1646.

" *Scotiſh Presbytery.* Is Presbytery become *Parochial*, *Claſſical*, " *Provincial*, leſs *Tyrannical* than *Epiſcopacy*, becauſe many " Rule in that and in this, but one? Or rather not more " Tyrannical, becauſe one Tyrant is not ſo much as many " together? *Evil* in a *Community* is ſtronger, and more dif- " fuſive than in Unity. Was there ever any thing done in *Some Modeſt and humble Queries*, p. 7. 1645. " the Biſhops time, or any thing attempted to be done by " this Generation of Men, in the day of their greateſt Inte- " reſt and Power in the Kingdom, of that *Bloudy Conſequence* " to thoſe Godly Perſons, Miniſters or others, whom they " moſt hated, and ſought to cruſh, as this Ord'nance, *(to* " *Prevent the Growth and Spreading of Hereſy*, &c.) if once " Eſtabliſh'd, is like to be to far greater Numbers of truly " Pious and Conſcientious Men.

Edwards's Gangræna, *P.* 87.

And as for Perſecution, " Our Sectaries (ſays a Presby- " terian) in their Sermons, Prayers, Pamphlets, Diſcourſes, " Petitions, all cry out of *Perſecution*; and accuſe the *Ortho-* " *dox Presbyterians* of *Perſecution*; yea, when for their Sedi- " tious, Tumultuous, Libellous, Scoffing, Wicked, Lying, " Scandalous Reports, Books and Practices, they have been " Queſtion'd, there is nothing in their Mouths but Perſecu- " tion, and of Unheard-of *Proſecution* of the Godly. I am of " the Mind if any of them ſhould come to be Impriſon'd and " Hang'd for Stealing, Killing a Godly Presbyterian, Plotting " againſt the Parliament and City, in ſeizing upon their Forts, " or ſome Parliament Men, One or other of them wou'd cry " out of Perſecution.

But when the tyde was turn'd, and the Independents were uppermoſt, then the Presbyterians tell us, that " the Inde- Eaſtwick's *Poſtcript to* Burton. " pendents have now the Sword in their Hands, and they " think their Party ſtrong enough to encounter any adverſe " and oppoſite Party; and they profeſs they care not how ſoon " they come to cutting of Throats; and ſpeak of nothing but See *alſo Picture of Independency*. Paget's *Hieregraphy*. Edw's Gangræna, *And his Further Diſcovery*. *Alſo* Lord. *Miniſters Seaſonable Exhortation*. 1660. Lilburn's *England's Birth-right*. See * *My Lord* Clarendon's *Hiſt.* p. 158, &c. " the Slaughtering and Butchering of the Preſbyterians. Theſe Godly Parties treat each other with the utmoſt Scurrility and Indignation, as thoſe who have a mind may ſee, by Conſulting *Baſtwick* on one Side, in his *Independency not G O D's Ordinance*, and in his *Poſtſcript*: And *Burton* on the other, in his *Brief Anſwer* and in his *Conformity's Deformity*. And it is very obſervable that this ſame *Burton* and *Baſtwick* * who were Hoſannah'd into the City in contempt of Royal Authority, at the beginning of the long Parliament, after they had ſuffer'd

Two

Two Years Impriſonment for a *Peſtilent* and *Seditious Libel*, againſt the Government in Church and State, which they with *Pryn* had *combin'd* to make; theſe very Men, when the Church was deſtroy'd and the Power in their own hands, could not agree about dividing it.

What is it then that will pleaſe thoſe People? or to which of them muſt we make our Court? ſince it is impoſſible to pleaſe them all. Or what good Reaſon can be given why one is to be preferr'd before the other? The Pleas of *this* Party, are neither better nor worſe than the Plea of *that*; ſo that the only way to cloſe the Breaches of this Divided Nation, is for the Diſſenters to come into the Eſtabliſhment, for this is Fixt, one knows what it requires, but one knows not where to have thoſe who Diſſent from it; Error being Multiform tho' Truth is but One. And ſure all Underſtanding Diſſenters, if they have but an equal ſhare of Conſcience and Honeſty, can no longer Divide from us. In ſo plain a Caſe, Charity it ſelf, tho' it *believes all things and hopes all things*, knows not how to reconcile their Practice to their Profeſſions. The beſt and wiſeſt Men therefore are of opinion, that Conſcience has the leaſt part in the Separation, for which reaſon they think it highly neceſſary to ſecure the Dykes againſt this Inundation of Error and *Schiſm*, as they ſuppoſe, and conſequently of Faction and Sedition.

I ſhall not enter upon the Queſtion, *whether Occaſional Conformity is evil in it ſelf?* only thus far; *if the Points upon which the Diſſenters continue their Separation* are not to be Juſtify'd, by conſequence neither is the Separation, and therefore if it is * to be call'd a *Schiſm*, one is at a loſs by what Name to term it. Neither ſhall I inſiſt upon the Nature and Evil of *Schiſm*, after what has been writ upon this Subject by much better Pens; Whoſe Reaſons I deſire the Reader would be pleas'd to weigh, but not be determin'd by any *bare* Authority. If any Authority be good in this Caſe, methinks that of the Diſſenters is moſt Authentick, and Reaſon, tho' good in any Man's mouth, yet upon this Subject is moſt convincing in theirs. Hear then what was the Presbyterians Opinion of Schiſm when they had got themſelves Eſtabliſh'd. " Schiſm of it ſelf, ſays one of them, " even with *Sound Doctrine* in every point, is a moſt *Grievous* " *Wickedneſs*, *which exceeds all other Wickedneſs*. I might, out " of the Fathers, enlarge and ſhew the great Evil of Schiſm, " both in it ſelf, and the Effects of it; How it is a greater " Evil

See *Bp* Stillin. *Charge of Separation*: And, *The Charge of Schiſm continu'd*.

Edwards's *Further Diſcovery*, P. 197.

" Evil to rend the Church, than to worſhip Idols; Yea, that
" Martyrdom it ſelf cannot profit a Schiſmatick; That it is ſo
" Great an Evil, that the Bloud of Martyrdom cannot blot it
" out. (So *Cyprian* and *Chryſoſtom.*) And that GOD hath
" more ſeverely puniſh'd it than Murder, and other great
" Crimes. *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, for their Schiſm were
" puniſh'd more ſeverely, with the Earth opening and ſwal-
" lowing them up Quick, than *Cain*, and than thoſe who made
Page 167. " an Idol. And again, The Puniſhment of Schiſm and Sepa-
" ration from the Church, is ſeparation from GOD; Here-
" ſy, Blaſphemy, Atheiſm, Uncleanneſs, Unrighteouſneſs, *&c.*

Moderation a Vertue, p. 27. Now this Mr. *Edwards* who gives us ſuch a frightful account of Schiſm, was none of thoſe *Church Miniſters*, who *ſurfeit their Hearers with fulſome and repeated Declamations againſt Schiſm.* He himſelf tells us, " I am one who out of choice
In his Ep. Dedic. to the Lords and Commons before his Gangræna. " and Judgment have embarqu'd my Self, my Wife, Children,
" Eſtate, and all that is dear to me, in the ſame Ship with you,
" to ſink and periſh, or to come ſafe to Land in the ſame Ship,
" and that in the moſt doubtful and difficult times — Plead-
" ing your Cauſe, Juſtifying your Wars, ſatisfying many that
" ſcrupled — Preaching, Praying, *Stirring up the People* to
" ſtand for ye, by going out in Perſon, Lending of Money, *&c.*

Moderation a Vertue, p. 11. By which it is very evident that he was one of thoſe *Diſſenting Miniſters* whom our Author tells us are *generally Men of ſuch real Piety, good Learning, and ſo Zealouſly active to ſave immortal Souls*, that the Occaſional Conformiſt *thinks himſelf oblig'd to hold Communion with 'em.* And as for his love to the Church of *England* it appears in the ſame place, for he tells the Lords and Commons to whom he Dedicates his Book, " You have,
" moſt noble Senators, done worthily againſt Papiſts, Pre-
" lates and Scandalous Miniſters, in caſting down Images,
" Altars, Crucifixes; throwing out Ceremonies, *&c.* And he gives us a ſad account, too long to repeat, of the Growth of Libertines, *&c.* " which have been growing upon us, ſays
" he, ever ſince the firſt Year of your Setting, and have eve-
" ry Year encreas'd more and more. Could any one have
P. 25. imagin'd that *Immorality* and *Prophaneneſs* ſhould grow to ſuch a height in thoſe Bleſſed Times when the whole Nation, (at leaſt thoſe *Zealous* Men who call'd themſelves its Repreſentatives) was but one great Society for the Reformation of Manners; one could not have ſuppos'd it, but that it is teſtified under the Hand of a *Diſſenting Miniſter.*

The

The Worthy Mr. *Pryn*, that Zealous Writer againſt the Legal Government in Church and State, he alſo tells us, that " if the Parliament and Synod ſhall by Publick Conſent *Eſtabliſh a Presbyterial Church Government*, as moſt conſonant to " GOD's Word — Independents and all others are *bound in* " *Conſcience* to ſubmit unto it, under the pain of Obſtinacy, " Singularity, *&c.* in caſe they can't really, by *Direct* Texts " and Precepts prove it diametrically contrary to the Scripture". One would think that the ſame Sauce ought to be given to the Gooſe that is to the Gander, and that all Men are as much oblig'd in Conſcience to ſubmit to the *Preſent Eſtabliſhment*, thoſe at leaſt, who are ſo far from proving it contrary to Scripture, that they do not ſo much as offer at ſuch a proof; ſo far from it, that they can *Occaſionally* approve and joyn with the Eſtabliſhment. *In his Full Anſwer to J. Goodwin, p. 13.*

Conſonantly to theſe Principles, *the Congregational Men ſwore to endeavour Uniformity.* And *Watſon* Preaching to the Commons * exhorts them to " Look upon the *Covenant* to " which we have lifted up our hands. I tremble when I read it, ſays he, " We Covenanted not only againſt *Prelacy*, but " *Popery*; not only *Hierarchy* but *Hereſy*; not only *Sin* but " *Schiſm*". And again, " they renew their ſolemn League " and Covenant againſt all Error, Hereſy and *Schiſm*, —— and for " the carrying on the Work of *Uniformity*. Rutherford's *freeDiſputation*, p. 256. 1649. * Dec. 27. 1649. *Napthali Engagement to Duties.*

As for " *Conſcience*, if it be warrant enough for Practices " and Opinions, ſays *Vines* to the Commons, and *Liberty of* " *Conſcience* be a ſufficient Licence to Vent or Act them, I " cannot ſee but the Judicatories either of Church or State " may ſhut up Shop, be reſolv'd into the Judicatory of Every " Mans Private Conſcience", And therefore " if Prophane, " or *Erroneous* Perſons ſhall Excommunicate themſelves from " the Publick Ordinances of *Chriſt*, either by Negligence or " *going a whoring after any Sect* or *Schiſms*, and ſay, their Conſcience muſt be free to do ſo, then the Magiſtrate by his " Poſitive Laws muſt fetch them in and Command Obedience " to Publick Ordinances in the Church, as the Kings of *Judah* " did, 2 *Chron.* 17, &c. So they tell us in *the Ordinances of Excommunication Stated*, p. ult. Which Book was Licens'd and Publiſh'd 1645. Mar. 10. 1646. P. 27.

Indeed to do the Presbyterians Juſtice, we muſt allow that when they were in Power, they did as much as might be, to put a Stop to the Miſchiefs of *Schiſm*, they Preach and Write againſt

againſt it, preſſing Uniformity, as much as the moſt Zealous Church-man can preſs it. " Are for keeping the People to " their *Pariſh Churches* *, nor can any be more zealous againſt " *New Lights*, and ſuch as *heap to themſelves Teachers having* " *itching Ears* †. For they tell us, (*a*) " a *Toleration* has *all* " *Errors* in it, and *all Evils*. That it (*b*) is againſt the Na- " ture of Reformation and diametrically oppoſite to it. " That this pretended Liberty of Conſcience is againſt the " Judgment of the greateſt Lights in the Church, both An- " tient and Modern. (*c*) Is againſt the Magiſtrates Duty laid " down in Scripture. Is a ſhrewd Temptation to make many " fall and a means of Confirmation in the way of Error. That " it has ever been from firſt to laſt a Fountain of Evil, and a " Root of Bitterneſs; of many Diviſions and Separations. " That it will be to this Kingdom very miſchievous, Pernici- " ous and Deſtructive. (*d*) That we ought to take heed how " we *Tolerate Schiſm*; for in a little time without great care " it will open the Door to *Hereſy*. That (*e*) Diviſions whether " they be Eccleſiaſtical or Political,——are infallible Cauſes " of Ruin. And which is worſt of all, the Precious Mr. *Bax-* " *ter* aſſures us; (*f*) That Liberty in all matters of Worſhip and " Faith, is the only and apparent way *to ſet up Popery in the* " *Land*. No wonder then that he Expoſtulates with thoſe who " were then in Power, (*g*) Will Merciful Rulers ſet up a Trade " for Butchering of Souls, and allow Men to ſet up a Shop of " Poiſon, for all Men to buy and Take, that will: Yea to " Proclaim this Poiſon for Souls in Streets and Church Aſ- " ſemblies, *&c.*

May 26. 1647. P. 33.

" Doth it belong to you only to look to the Civil Peace, ſays *Caſe* Preaching to the Commons, " and to let Religion " and Truth, and the Worſhip of GOD ſtand or fall, to " their own Maſter? *Fight GOD*, *Fight Devil*, *Fight Chriſt*, " *Fight Antichriſt*; *Catch that catch can*; You have nothing " to do but to ſtand by and look on; Say ſo then; Speak out, " Publiſh it in your Declarations to the World, and let the " People of *England* know, that it is the *Right and Liberty to* " *which the Subjects of England are born:* that every Man hold " what he pleaſes, and Publiſh and Preach what he holds: " That it is the *Birth-Right* (as ſome would have it) of the " *Free-born People of England*, every Man to Worſhip GOD " according to his own Conſcience; and to be of what Religion " his own Conſcience ſhall Dictate: Do ſo, and ſee (Fathers and

* *Antidote againſt the Contag. Air of Independency*, p. 12.

† *See Picture of Independency.*

(*a*) Edward's *Gangræna*, p. 58. *alſo*

(*b*) His *Antapologia*, p. 241, 242.

(*c*) His *Full Anſwer*, p. 237.
P. 224.
P. 248.
P. 247.

(*d*) Hodges *to the Commons*, Mar. 10. 1656. p. 55.

(*e*) Calamy *to the Commons*, Dec. 25. 1644. p. 4.

(*f*) *Non-Conf. Plea, Pref.*

(*g*) *Self-denial, Epiſt. Monitory.*

" and Brethren) how long your Civil Peace will ſecure you, " when Religion is deſtroy'd, how long it will be e're your " Civil Peace will be turn'd into Civil War! For no doubt if " this be once granted them, but they may in good time come " to know alſo, (there be them that are inſtructing them even " in theſe Principles too) that it is their *Birth-right* to be free " from the *Power of Parliaments*, and from the *Power of Kings*; " *and to take up Arms againſt both, when they ſhall not Vote and Act* " *according to their Humours*, Liberty of Conſcience falſly ſo " call'd, may in good time improve it ſelf into Liberty of " Eſtates, and Liberty of Houſes, and Liberty of Wives; and in " a Word, Liberty of Perdition; of Souls and Bodies.

And to give you their concurrent Teſtimonies, " A *Tole-* " *ration* would be the putting a Sword in a Mad-man's Hand, " *&c.* Neither would it be to provide for *Tender Conſciences*, *Ib.* P. 12. but to take away *all Conſcience*; *ſays the Harmonious Conſent of the Lancaſhire Miniſters with their Brethren in London.* Subſcribed by Eighty four of them 1648. And the *Presbyterian Miniſters Letter from Sion College, to the Aſſembly of Divines*, Dec. 18. 1645. Says, " We are bold to hint unto you theſe enſuing " Reaſons againſt the *Toleration* of *Independency* in the Church.

" Firſt, No ſuch *Toleration* hath hitherto been Eſtabliſh'd " (ſo far as we know) in any Chriſtian State by the Civil Ma- " giſtrate.

" Secondly, Becauſe ſome of them have ſolemnly profeſs'd " that they *can't ſuffer Presbytery*. And anſwerable hereunto is " *their Practice* in thoſe Places where Independency prevails.

" Thirdly, To grant it to them and not to other Sects, " who are free-born as well as they, and have done as good " Service as they to the Publick, (as they uſe to Plead) will be " counted Injuſtice and great Partiality: But to grant it unto " All, will ſcarce be clear'd from great Impiety.

" Fourthly, Independency is a *Schiſm*, &c. Now we Judge " that *no Schiſm* is to be *Tolerated* in the Church, 1 *Cor.* 1. 10. " 1 *Cor.* 10. 25. *Rom.* 6. 17. with 1 *Cor.* 3. 3. *Gal.* 5. 20.—— " They further add, that many Miſchiefs will inevitably fol- " low upon this *Toleration*, and that both to *Church* and *Com-* " *monwealth.*

" Firſt, To the *Church*: As 1. Cauſleſs and Unjuſt Revolts " from our Miniſtry and Congregation? 2. Our Peoples Minds " will be troubled and in danger to be ſubverted as *Acts* 15. 24. " 3. Bitter Heart-burnings among Brethren will be fomented and

" perpetuated to Posterity. 4. The Godly, Painful, Orthodox Ministers will be discouraged and despised. 5. The Life and Power of Godliness will be eaten out by frivolous Disputes and vain Janglings. 6. The whole Course of Religion in private Families will be interrupted and Undermined. 7. Reciprocal Duties between Persons of nearest and dearest Relation will be extremely violated. 8. All other Sects and Heresies in the Kingdom, will be encourag'd to endeavour the like *Toleration*, and shelter themselves under the Wings of Independency. 9. And the whole * Church of *England*, in short time will be swallow'd up with Destruction and Confusion.

* *You must remember that at this time they call'd themselves the Church of* England.

" Secondly, To the Common-wealth; for it is much to be doubted, lest the Power of the Magistrate should not only be weaken'd, but even utterly overthrown, considering the Principles and Practices of Independants, together with their Compliance with *Other Sects* sufficiently known to be *Anti-Magistratical* ". One needs not desire the Reader to turn the Tables, for this is full and to the Point, and does not need a Comment.

In his Gangræna, *Part* I. *p.* 84.

" O let the Ministers therefore, says *Edwards*, oppose *Toleration*, (as being that by which the Devil would at once lay a Foundation of his Kingdom to all Generations,) witness against it in all Places; Possess the Magistrate of the Evil of it; yea, and the People too; shew them how if a Toleration were granted, they should never have Peace in their Families more; or ever after have Command of Wives, Children, Servants, *&c.* Let's therefore fill all Presses, cause all Pulpits to ring, and so possess Parliament, City, and the whole Kingdom against the Sects, and the Evil of *Schism* and *Toleration*; that we may no more hear of a *Toleration*, nor of *Separated Churches*, being hateful Names in the Church of GOD, *Amen*, *Amen*.

I should not have troubled my Reader with such tedious Quotations, but that I was willing to give him the Dissenters Sense of this Matter fully, and besides it may serve for a Sample of the Flowers of their Oratory, and give him a Taste of their *close*, *Methodical*, *and Lively Preaching*, as our Author terms it. It must be confess'd that these Dissenters have the Misfortune to declare very vehemently against a *Toleration*, but you ought to consider this was only in the heat of Blood, when they were flush'd with Success, and got into Power.

P. 12.

Time

Time has ſince cool'd them, and at preſent they are as Orthodox in the Point as your heart can wiſh.

As for the evil effects of "*Toleration*, which has done much "more, ſays one of them upon experience toward the Root- "ing of Religion out of the Hearts of Men in Seven Years, "than the enforcing of *Uniformity* did in Seventy Years: You may have a good account of them in *Edward*'s *Gangræna*; in his *Antipologia*; in his *Catalogue of Errors*, and *Further Diſcovery*; and in many other *Presbyterian* Writers, in thoſe times. *Cranford* Licenſing *Edward*'s *Gangræna* with this Expreſſion, "Reader, that thou mayſt diſcern the Miſchiefs of *Eccleſiaſti-* "*cal Anarchy*, the monſtrouſneſs of the much affected *Tole-* "*ration*, and be warn'd to be Wiſe to Sobriety, and Fear "and Suſpect the pretended *New Lights*, I approve that "this Treatiſe, diſcovering the *Gangrene* of ſo many ſtrange "Opinions ſhould be Imprinted. In ſhort, "The Errors and "Innovations under which we ſo much groan'd of latter Years, [ſays one of them meaning the Epiſcopal Church] were but "*Tolerabiles Ineptiæ*, Tolerable Trifles, Childrens play, com- "par'd with thoſe damnable Doctrines of Devils, as the Apo- "ſtles call them. *Polygamy*, *Arbitrary Divorce*, *Mortality of the* "*Soul*, *No Miniſtry*, *No Church*, *No Ordinances*, *No Scripture*. "Yea, the very *Divinity of Chriſt*, and of the *Holy Ghoſt* que- "ſtion'd by ſome, Denied by others; and the very foundation "of all theſe laid in ſuch a *Schiſm* of *Boundleſs Liberty of Con-* "*ſcience*, &c. Thus it was in former times; but do we, happy we, diſcover any of theſe Errors, Hereſies and Blaſphemies at preſent among us? Are not our Preſſes Chaſt, and our Converſations without any ſavour of Irreligion or Prophaneneſs? Nay, ſhould we be remiſs in our Zeal for Religion, our *Province Ireland* has ſet us an Example how they ought to be treated, who deny *Chriſtianity to be Myſterious*, and who ſet a-broach ſtrange Non-ſenſical Myſteries of their own.

Cawdry's *Independency a Great Schiſm* p. 57. 1657.

Sermon before the Commons, Aug. 22. 1645. *Page* 29.

In a word, Order is a Sacred thing, 'tis that Law which GOD preſcribes Himſelf, and inviolably obſerves. Subordination is a neceſſary conſequence of Order, for in a State of Ignorance and Pravity ſuch as ours is, there is not any thing that tends more to Confuſion than Equality. It dos not therefore become the groſs of Mankind to ſet up for that which is beſt in their own conceit; but humbly to obſerve where GOD has Delegated his Power, and ſubmit to it, *as unto the Lord and not to Man*. Man, who becauſe he is Man, will be lia-

ble to ſome Miſtakes in the Adminiſtration of the Divine Authority. And ſhould one change the hands, the miſtakes, its like would not be leſſened, but only exchang'd for others, it may be for greater. Nor can any Alterations be made but by the ſame Authority that confirms the Eſtabliſhment.

If therefore *Schiſm* is ſo great a Sin, of ſuch Fatal Conſequences in this World as well as in the next; if we are bound in Conſcience to ſubmit to that Church, which commands us nothing contrary to expreſs Texts of Scripture, as is evident from the Diſſenters own Arguments; if there is nothing in our Church but what they can comply with upon *Occaſion*, as is plain by their own Confeſſion and preſent Practice, conſequently they can never anſwer it to GOD, to their Country, or to their own Souls, if they ſtill keep up the Separation.

Page 9. For that " *Occaſional Communion* in ſome Caſes may be *Lawful*, " where *Conſtant* Communion would be a *Sin*, is a Doctrine " not heard of among Chriſtians in our Author's Senſe, till he was pleas'd to utter it, and much better becomes the *Jeſuits Morals* than the Pen of a Proteſtant Writer.

Page 16. Our Author is indeed aware, that *if there be ſo great an Agreement between the Diſſenters and the Church*, it may well be ask'd, *how came they to ſeparate from it?* and therefore he makes this an *Objection*. But he ſlurs it off by telling us, *It's none of his Buſineſs, to enquire into the reaſon of their Separation*, and refers us to other hands. Tho' one would think that the beſt way to obtain that *Moderation* he pleads for, were to offer ſome good Reaſons for the Separation, if it can be Juſtify'd; or elſe it ought to be given up, that the Union may be compleated. But there may be *Cauſes* of a Separation which are not *Reaſons*, and which it is not proper to own at *all* times, or even at *any* time.

But if Reaſon and Conſcience don't oblige Diſſenters to Separate from the Church, and theſe venerable names are only made uſe of to colour ſome other Aims, which are the true Springs and Motives of the Separation, then the charge of Hypocriſy lies full againſt them. For what can be greater Hypocriſy than to make Religion a Stale to other Ends? and to pretend Conſcience for that which is nothing elſe but a ſecular Deſign? Not but that there may be many poor deluded Souls who follow the Leading Man in the *ſimplicity of their Hearts*, as

2 Sam 15. 11. ſome of the *Iſraelites* did Rebellious *Abſalom*; But our Diviſions would ceaſe of courſe, were theſe the only Diſſenters;

Theſe

These are not to be let into the design, they are not Men to maintain it. The shrewd Men, the heads of the Faction have something else besides Religion and Liberty at heart, which they are too Politick to discover to the Ignorant Multitude. 'Tis Power and Preferment, their own Passions and Establishment which they pursue. And if they will honestly speak out and own it, we will readily acquit them of the Hypocrisy; and argue with them on another foot; otherwise they must excuse us if it lie at their door. And since they will not be so Ingenuous as to own their Designs, let us try if we can discover them, especially since the Breach of Order which is Schism in the Church, is Sedition in the State; and as a Dissenter well observ'd to the Parliament in 1644. " In a little " time either a Schism in the State begets a Schism in the Church, " or a Schism in the Church begets a Schism in the State. Newcomen's *Serm. to the Parliament*, Sept. 12.

For according to Mr. *Baxter*, who were the Cause of those deplorable Miseries the Nation so long groan'd under, but those, " who have been most addicted to Church-Divisions, " and Separations, and Sidings, and Parties, and have re- " fus'd all Terms of Concord and Unity. Who tho' many " of them weak and raw, were yet prone to be puff'd up with " nigh thoughts of themselves, and to over-value their little " degrees of Knowledge and Parts, which set them not above " the pity of Understanding Men. They have been set upon " those Courses which tend to advance them above the com- " mon People, in the Observation of the World, and to set " them at a further distance from others than GOD alloweth " and all this under the Pretence of the *Purity of the Church*— " And again, All this began but in *unwarrantable Separations*, " and *too much aggravating the faults of the Churches, and Com-* " *mon People, and Common-Prayer-Book, and Ministry.*—— " They would not Communicate with that Church where Ig- " norant Persons or Swearers were Tolerated, but without " any Scruple they would Communicate with them that had " broken their Vow and Covenant with GOD and Man, and " rebelled against all kind of Government.—— *A few Dissent-* " *ing Members* of the *Westminster* Synod began all this and car- " ried it far on.—— One would have thought that if their " *Opinions* had been *Certainly True*, and their *Church Order* " *good*; yet the Interest of Christ, and the Souls of Men, and " of greater Truths, should have been so regarded by the " *Dividers* in *England*, as that the safety of all these should " have Calamy's *Abr.* c. 6. p. 95, 96. Ibid p. 98.

" have been Preferr'd, and not all ruin'd, rather than their " way ſhould want its Carnal Aim and Liberty: and that they " ſhould not tear the Garment of Chriſt all to pieces, " rather than it ſhould want their Lace. What can be more appoſitely or better ſaid, or more to their own Confuſion; and would not one think that a Judicial Blindneſs has ſeiz'd them, ſince they argue ſo well even againſt their own Practices?

We pretend not to know Mens hearts or to judge of their Intentions any further than our Saviour's Rule will carry us, *Ye ſhall know them by their Fruits.* And ſince the *Wolf* does oft appear in *Sheeps cloathing* none ought to paſs till they have been examin'd. Beſides, the bringing to light the hidden ſprings of Action, as it will put a ſtop to the Intrigues of evil Men, who will not be able to compaſs their Deſigns, if we take off their Diſguiſe, and deſtroy that Covert under which they made their Approaches: So it will render the Vertues of the Honeſt more conſpicuous. Whether then the *Occaſional Conformiſt Acts* from a *Mercenary Spirit and ſiniſter Intention towards the Eſtabliſh'd Church*, or *from a Religious regard to GOD*, will beſt appear by his Actions. If theſe are for the ſervice of the Church 'tis well. But if they viſibly tend to its Ruin, he muſt excuſe us if we have no belief of his good Intentions.

S. Matth. 7. 15, 6.

P. 11.

Let us therefore enquire, Firſt, *In Fact*, whether the Diſſenters have either been Friends to the *Church* of *England*, or good Subjects to their Prince, when it was in their Power to be otherwiſe? which will furniſh us with Precedents a little more to the purpoſe than our Author's: And, Secondly, Whether by their Principles they can be ſo? *Iſt.* As for Matter of Fact, to avoid being Tedious in a Subject that is but too fruitful, if my Reader's Memory or his Fathers don't furniſh him with Inſtances enow, I refer him for a Specimen of the Diſſenters great Love to the Church, to a Treatiſe, Entituled *The Churches Eleventh Perſecution.* Being a *Brief of the Fanatick Perſecution of the Proteſtant Clergy of the Church of England, more particularly within the City of London, Begun in Parliament*, A. D. 1641. And Printed in 1648. which little Book does fully make good its Title, and was Reprinted 1681, one of which laſt Editions I have at his Service.

You have in it a Liſt of 115 Learned and Pious Divines, who were turn'd out of their Livings *by Sequeſtration and otherwiſe, in the City and within the Bills of Mortality.* Moſt of them

them Plunder'd of their Goods, and their Wives and Children turn'd out of Doors, 20 Impriſon'd, 25 Fled to avoid Impriſonment, 22 Dead in remote Parts, and in Priſon, and with Grief; and about 40 Churches void, having no conſtant Miniſter in them: By which you may gueſs how it was with the Clergy in other parts of the Nation. Would you have a Sample of their kindneſs to their Country; their Plunderings, Defacing of Churches, their Barbarous uſage of the Meſſengers of Peace, even when ſent to them upon that Errand? you need but conſult *Mercurius Ruſticus*, which was firſt Printed in thoſe Times, and Reprinted 1685. and which does very well deſerve another Impreſſion; *Querela Cantabrigienſis* which is added to that *Mercury*, will in ſome Meaſure inform you of their Good-will to that Univerſity. And it is not to be ſuppos'd that her Malignant Siſter *Oxford*, towards which the Diſſenters do always expreſs a very particular regard, ſhould come off upon better Terms. But if you would have at once a view of their Love and Duty to their Sovereign, and all his good Subjects, as well as to the Clergy, you may ſatisfie your ſelf in *Foulis*'s *Hiſtory of our Pretended Saints*. A Man who had his Education among Diſſenters and conſequently knew them the better for that reaſon, and who is ſo far from having any good-will to Popery, that he has Writ one of the ſmarteſt Books againſt it. You will not indeed have ſo many Examples of the Treaſons and Uſurpations of our Pretended Saints as you have of thoſe of the *Church* of *Rome*, but conſidering the Time that theſe Hiſtories take in, you will find that the Diſſenters have made pretty good uſe of their Time and Opportunities, and are not ſo much behindhand with the Papiſts, in Peaceableneſs and Loyalty, and other good Qualities.

See *his Hiſtory of the Treaſons and Uſurpations of the Church of* Rome.

Indeed they took care " to give publick Warning to all " *Neuters*, to reſt no longer upon their Neutrality, but that " they addreſs themſelves ſpeedily to take the *Covenant*, and " joyn with all their Power in defence of this Cauſe againſt " the * Common Enemy, *&c.* Otherwiſe (ſay they) we do " declare them to be Publick Enemies to their Religion and " Country; and that they are to be Sentenc'd and puniſh'd as " profeſs'd Adverſaries and Malignants. In *Scotland* † he who " ſhould not take, or who deferr'd taking the *Covenant*, was to " have all his Rents and Profits confiſcated, was not to enjoy " any Office or Benefit, and to be cited before the next Parliament,

Declaration of England *and* Scotland. *Jan.* 30. 1643.

* *The Term by which they were pleaſed to denote their Sovereign King* Charles *I.*

† *See Sir* Henry Vane's *Speech at a Common Hall,* Oct. 27. 1643.

" ment, &c. Nor were the Commons in *England* much more
(a) June 2. 1646. " moderate, for they resolv'd upon the Question (a), that all
" Persons that have or shall reside in the Parliaments Quar-
" ters, shall take the *National League and Covenant* and the
" Negative *Oath*, notwithstanding any Articles that have
" been or shall be made by the Soldiery. And by an Article
of War, he who having taken the *Covenant* should go into the Enemy's [that is their Sovereign's] Quarters, without Drum, Trumpet, or Pass, was to Die without Mercy. They who Us'd or Caus'd to be Us'd the *Common Prayer* either in *Publick, or in any Private Place or Family, within the Kingdom of England*, &c. were for the first Offence to pay 5 *l.* for the second 10 *l.* and for the third, to suffer one whole Years Imprisonment, without Bail or Main prize, by the Ordinance of Parliament, *Aug.* 23. 1645. *for putting the Directory in Execution.* By *Oliver*'s Declaration, *Nov.* 24. 1655. None of the Ejected or Sequestred Ministers or Fellows of Colleges were to be Chaplains to any Person, or to teach School either in Publick or Private, or to Preach, Baptize, &c. or to use any of the Forms in the Book of *Common-Prayer*, upon pain of being proceeded against.— And *an humble Petition and Advice* presented to *Oliver*, *May* 25. 1657. ranks *Prelacy* with *Popery*, and desires that Liberty might not be extended to them. Are not these admirable Testimonies of their Affection to the Church of *England!*

Indeed one can't but wonder at the—— what shall I say? I would fain use a softer Word than the *Assurance* of some Men, who tho' they were the Aggressors, and the most bitter and violent Persecutors of the *English* Clergy, can yet complain of the hard Usage that they suffer'd from the Church at King *Charles* II'ds Restauration, Printing New and Clamorous Accounts of it, which they presume to Dedicate to a Noble Lord, pretending he *will* there find some *Men* and *Things fairly and impartially represented.* Now not to take notice of those many Mistakes and Errors that Book abounds with, to say nothing at present of his daring to lay the *Irish* Massacre upon King *Charles* I. of the groundlessness of which Accusation they who are not yet satisfied, may in a little time receive full Conviction: I shall at present only take notice, that tho' he is so displeas'd at that Catalogue which was Printed 1663. for pretending to be exact, and yet reckoning up but 5, or 600, yet his own List amounts not to many more. He tells us " he

My Lord Hartington.

Calamy's *Abridgment of* Baxter's *Life*, 1702. P. 44.

See his Preface.

Preface.

" had

" had not the Curioſity to make a Calculation of the Sum-to-
" tal of the Liſt he publiſh'd, (one may gueſs the Reaſon,) but
I aſſure him I have *numbred* his *People*, and if I can tell to
Twenty, the Index at the End of his Book amounts but
to 522. To which if you add the 174 that were ejected
by the *Bartholomew* Act and afterwards Conform'd, the whole
Number that were ejected ariſe but to 696, of which a fourth
part, and conſequently not ſo inconſiderable a Number as he
pretends, did afterwards come in. And yet even to make up
this 522, he is forc'd to take in *Aſh*, who he ſays was buried
on St. *Bartholomew*'s Eve, and therefore can't be ſaid to be e- P. 184.
jected; To fetch *Veal* and *Winter* from their Colleges in *Dublin*, P. 223.
Lukin from *France*, to make them ejected Miniſters in *England* P. 368.
and *Jeanes* out of his Grave, who, he ſays, died in *Aug.* P. 252.
near St. *Bartholomew*'s Day, *&c.* And ſince he tells us that P. 318.
" Quickly after the King's Return *many Hundred* Worthy P. 145.
" Miniſters were diſplac'd, and caſt out of their Charges,
" becauſe they were in *Sequeſtrations where others had been caſt*
" *out by the Parliament*"; as ſure they ought to be, having
poſſeſs'd themſelves of other Mens Free-holds; if *many hun-*
dred were ejected on this Account, there will not remain many
more out of 522 to be ejected for other Reaſons. So that
if Mr. *Calamy* after all his Diligence, and the Aſſiſtance he had *See his* Preface.
from his four Written Catalogues, " one of which was col-
" lected with great Induſtry and Application by Mr. *Taylor*,
" whilſt Chaplain to the late Lord *Wharton*, which *Taylor* had
" then a Correſpondence in moſt Parts of *England*, in purſuit of
" that Deſign. If after all this, he can raiſe his Number no
higher than 522, and yet we find him and *his Diſſenting Brethren*
aſſerting with ſo much Aſſurance that they were 2000, ſurely he con-
firms us in our *hard thoughts of them, as falſifying in their own Fa-*
vour, and *blackens their Memory* by this Attempt to clear them.

It is at the Reader's Diſcretion whether he will believe all
this, or condemn it by wholeſale, as the peeviſh Remarks of
Hot and Angry Men. For tho' ſome People ſay that one can't
believe what they pleaſe, but muſt have grounds of Credibili-
ty to gain their Aſſent: Yet to ſet this right, there are a ſort
of wiſer Men will let you know, that the only way to be be-
liev'd is to be on their Side, if you have not this Voucher, a-
way with you; they are not at leiſure to conſider your Proofs:
They know what you have to ſay, and they Reſolve not to
Hear it!

But whatever Objections may be made to the Authors I have already mentioned, My Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory is ſo Authentick, ſo Impartial, even by their own Confeſſion, that they can make no Objections againſt the Truth of his Account. And whoever reads that excellent Hiſtory will find undeniable Proof, that when the Diſſenters, and thoſe who either *weakly* or *wickedly* aſſiſted their Deſigns, had by all the ſiniſter, diſingenuous, and unrighteous Arts that the Wit of Men could invent, or their Malice and Induſtry purſue, obtain'd the *Power*, they gave a fatal Demonſtration that they wanted not the *Will* to *deſtroy the Church and State*. And that the greateſt danger that either of them was ever expos'd to, the greateſt Hurt they ever receiv'd, has been from thoſe hands. For what could even the Papiſts, the moſt avowed Enemies of our Conſtitution do worſe, than to over-throw it entirely?

See My Lord Clarendon's *Hiſtory.*

GOD was pleas'd indeed to Reſtore it in a Wonderful Manner, by a Revolution that was truly His own Work, that was as juſt in its Foundation, as it was extraordinary in its Progreſs, which could be juſtify'd by Principles as well as excus'd by Neceſſity. For when the Royal Party were at the loweſt, and all their Loyal Attempts had been baffled, GOD was pleas'd to turn the Hearts of the People towards *David* their King, and to convince them by the Oppreſſions they had ſuffer'd under their Fellow-Subjects, that the *Little Finger* of an Uſurp'd Power, is heavier than the *Loins* of a Lawful Prince.

And upon this Happy Revolution, the Government which was then Reſtor'd with the King, might in all probability, and Humanely ſpeaking, have been ſecur'd beyond the Fear of Danger, had not either the Good-Nature of King *Charles* II. or ſome falſe Maxim which obtained, prevail'd with him, not only to pardon His and the Nation's Enemies, (this every good Chriſtian and good Engliſh-man ſincerely deſir'd,) but even to treat them as Friends to Promote and Truſt them. Whereby he not only gave his Enemies Opportunity to revive the Old-Game, but which was worſe, left the Crown deſtitute of Friends. For tho' the Loyal Party had many Vertues and had given noble Teſtimony of their Fidelity, yet they were but Men, and thought themſelves no longer Oblig'd to hazard all that was dear to them for a Crown, that had ſo little Conſideration of their Services; and made no Diſtinction but to their Diſadvantage, between their Merit and the Crimes of the Diſloyal.

So

So true is that Obſervation of the Wiſe Kings, that he *who* would have *Friends*, *muſt ſhew himſelf Friendly*; he who would be well ſerv'd, muſt ſupport and encourage his Faithful Servants: And that of another Wiſe Man, *Never truſt thy Enemy, for like as Iron ruſteth, ſo is his Wickedneſs. Tho' he humble himſelf* and go *crouching*, *yet take good heed, and beware of him*; Set him not *by thee*, *leſt when he hath overthrown thee, he ſtand up in thy place*, *neither let him ſit at thy right hand leſt he ſeek to take thy Seat.* Which tho' it may not always hold in Enmities between Man and Man, a Generous Enemy being often won by handſome Uſage, yet is certainly true of the Domeſtick Enemies of a State, who by their Diſaffection to a Government become uncapable of Serving it, and ſo exclude themſelves from having any ſhare in the Miniſtration. *See* Eccluſ. 12. 10, *&c.*

Nor has the Diſſenters Conduct ſince the Reſtoration been any Exception to this Rule; the Favours ſhew'd them by the Government, did not reſtrain them from diſturbing it, ſo ſoon as they had recover'd Breath and Spirit, after that Conſternation which their own Guilt and Fears, more than the juſt Reſentments of the Loyal Party, had put them into. 'Tis not neceſſary to repeat the Tranſactions of thoſe times which moſt of us may remember, nor the Uneaſineſs they gave that Prince who had ſhewn himſelf ſo gracious to them. If we want to have our Memories refreſh'd, My Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter's Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy againſt King* Charles *II.* together with the *Trials* of the Conſpirators, *&c.* will do it. Nor can any one pretend that it was a Sham-Plot, ſince *Rouſe* and the reſt that were executed for it, did not at their Deaths deny the *Fact*, how little Repentance ſoever they might ſhew for the Guilt.

Our Author indeed tells that "The Lords obſerve, that in "the greateſt Extremity of the Church, under King *James*, "they joyn'd with her". If their Lordſhips do really obſerve it, and he does not miſtake their Meaning, we muſt Believe it, in deference to ſo great an Authority. But in return to our Author, who is the only Perſon I am concern'd with; it is, I confeſs, an Obſervation one has not met with before. Moſt Readers of the Controverſies that paſt in thoſe days, were of Opinion, that it was the Church of *England* only, which gave Popery ſuch a Fall, that very Soldiers and Footmen grew too hard, even with their Pen, for its greateſt Champions: Whilſt the good natur'd Diſſenters would not P. 24.

Triumph over a baffled Cauſe. They thought it ſufficient to ſhew their Zeal againſt Popery under a Proteſtant King; becoming *Paſſively* and as far as it was put upon them, *Actively* Obedient under a Popiſh, the Errors of whoſe Religion they had too much Good-manners to expoſe either by the Preſs or from the Pulpit. But this perhaps might be only a Deception of our Senſes! and thoſe Addreſſes ſo full of hard Reflections upon the Church, Magnificent Panegyrics to ſay no more, of Duty and Aſſurances of their Loyalty and Obedience to the King's Deſires, in taking off the Penal Laws and Teſt, might, like many other Arbitrary Steps in that Reign, be only a Contrivance to render theſe *true* and *beſt* Proteſtants odious, and by that means to weaken the Proteſtant Intereſt!

It muſt be confeſs'd that when thoſe worthy Patriots, whom future Hiſtories ſhall Celebrate as they deſerve, for their Moral and Chriſtian Vertues, which naturally produce a great Zeal for Religion, and a hearty Defence of that Doctrine, Men ſhew they have ſo much at heart, by the Influence it has on their Lives and Converſations; but whoſe Character one dares not attempt, ſince he who treads too cloſe on the heels of Truth, may ſuffer as a Flatterer or a Detractor: When theſe Worthy Patriots, I ſay, had brought about the late Revolution, the Diſſenters came in to it very readily and ſincerely, for they had their Reaſons, I do not pretend to judge how well theſe Reaſons ſquar'd with the Intereſt of the *Church* of *England*.

Yet for all this one can't help dreaming ſometimes, of People, who within theſe Eighteen Years careſs'd the Roman Catholicks, were forward to offer themſelves for that vile Imployment of being made Scaffolds to pull down the *Church* of *England* and the Conſtitution, which might have been preſerved with a leſs Expence of Blood and Treaſure, and with ſo much *Real Honour*, as that there would have been no need of *Retrieving* any, had we been United and true to our Principles, and had not the Diſſenters thrown themſelves into the Scale with the Papiſts, in oppoſition to that Church they had ſo often Calumniated as Popiſhly affected, and which now ſhew'd it ſelf to be the *greateſt*, nay the only *Bulwark againſt Popery*; and had we preſerv'd the Honeſty, Courage and Firmneſs of Good Chriſtians, and *True-born-Engliſhmen*.

We need not trace the Diſſenters Behaviour any further, only there wants a good Reaſon, why they made ſuch a Buſtle upon

upon her Majesties most Happy and *seasonable* Accession to the Throne? and swarm with so many Pamphlets about our Ears? There was a Mr. *Calamy* who in his Apology against *Burton* 1646. tells us " that his house was a receptacle for Godly Mi-" nisters in the worst of times: Here were the Remonstran-" ces fram'd against the Prelates, here were all Meetings, *&c.* " And in a Sermon, he says, that it is commendable to fight " for Peace and Reformation, Against the King's Command. " The Cause you manage, says he, in another to the Peers, " * is the Cause of GOD, the Glory of GOD is embark'd " in the same Ship in which this Cause is —— He that dies " fighting the Lord's Battle, dies a Martyr. And in his " Speech at *Guild-hall*, I may truly say as the Martyr did, " that if I had as many Lives as Hairs on my Head, I would " be willing to Sacrifice all those Lives in this Cause. Nor was there any great Change in him upon the Restauration, for Complaining of the danger of the Ark of GOD, he tells us, " It is not your *wicked Ministers* [so they think fit to call the Episcopal Clergy,] " that can settle the Ark of " GOD, it is not your Prophane Drunken Ministers; No, it " must be your Godly, Sober, Pious and Religious Ministers: That is themselves no doubt! And we have lately had *An Abridgment of Baxter's Life*, by *Calamy* the Grandson, who Glories so much in his Descent from such Ancestors, that he assumes it as a Title of Honour.

Calamy's *Sermon*, Dec. 25. 1644. p. 29.

* —June 15. 1643. p 53. *P.* 57.

Oct. 6. 1643.

Dec. 28. 1662. p. 10, 17, 18.

And what I pray is the Design of this Abridgment, but to justify the Separation, and to lay all the load they can upon the Church of *England*, and to make Parade of her Persecuting (forsooth!) of their Godly Ministers. Tho' when one Remembers how many of the Orthodox Clergy had been turn'd out of their Livings in the times of Confusion, the *Bartholomew* Act won't appear so much a silencing of their Preachers, as the Restitution of the Regular Clergy to their own Churches, which those Dissenters had illegally Usurp'd.

Observe also at what juncture this Abridgment appears; it was Publish'd in the beginning of her Majesties Reign, before an Act against Occasional Conformity was so much as mention'd, when there were neither *Real* nor Imaginary *hardships on Dissenters*, and before any step was made that could give the most clamorous Dissenter any *Cause of Jealousy or Fear*; unless the Throne's being fill'd with a Truly Religious Prince, whose Judgment and Inclinations as well as her Interest tye her to the

the *Church* of *England*, and who will never Betray it, be that which Allarms them, or unleſs they had a mind to raiſe a-new that *heat* and *fermentation* which the Lords tell us was *almoſt entirely laid*.

Secondly, we come now to examine the Diſſenters Principles, that we may learn whether theſe will allow them to be Friends to the Conſtitution. For Intereſt, Revenge, Opportunity, or any ſtrong Temptation, may draw Men from their avowed Tenets ſometimes, and encline them to Act otherwiſe than was expected, who yet may come to themſelves when the Temptation is over. And if they are ſound at heart, of Honeſt Principles I mean, they may like St. *Peter* riſe again, recovering greater Strength by their Fall; by reaſon they have learn'd more Humility, and to put greater Confidence in GOD and leſs in themſelves.

To paſs over that mannerly Language with which they us'd to treat the Biſhops and the Clergy, even from the beginning of the Separation in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, to our own, ſuch as *falſe, baſtardly Governours of the Church, Incarnate Devils, Cogging, Couſining Knaves, Impudent, Shameleſs Dolts, Hogs, Wolves, a Troop of bloudy Soul Murderers, Idle Shepherds, Dumb Dogs, Greedy Dogs, Vile Wretches*, and what not. Language one could not have expected to hear from Chriſtians, and ſuch as call themſelves Miniſters of the Goſpel, who are *to ſpeak evil of no Man, to be no brawlers, but gentle, ſhewing all meekneſs unto all Men.* And therefore one is apt to think they belong to another Fraternity, when one hears them in this manner *Deſpiſe Dominion, and ſpeak evil of Dignities, foaming out their own ſhame.*

See Bancroft's *Dang. Poſitions* l. 2. c. 12, 13. Caſe's *Sermon* Sept. 30. 1543. p. 45. *&c.*

Tit. 3. 2.

St. Jude 8, 13.

They tell us, that "The Government now us'd by Arch-"Biſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* is both Anti-chriſtian and Devil-"iſh, —— That Antichriſt Reigneth among us, That the "Eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church is Traitrous againſt "the Majeſty of Jeſus Chriſt. That they muſt needs be, not "only Traitors to GOD and His Word, but alſo Ene-"mies unto her Majeſty [Queen *Elizabeth*] and the Land, "that defend the Eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church to "be Lawful. What is the Prelacy, ſays Dr. *Owen*, a meer Antichriſtian encroachment upon the Inheritance of Chriſt. And another putting a Caſe upon entering into the Covenant, at St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, (*viz.*) "If the Parliament ſhould "hereafter ſee a Conveniency in *Prelacy* for this Kingdom, "were not this Oath then Prejudicial either to the Parliament's Liberty

See Bancroft's *Dang. Poſitions* l. 2. c. 4.

Thanksg. Serm. Oct. 24. 1651. p. 5.

Coleman, *Sept.* 29. 1643. p. 37.

" Liberty, or the Kingdom's Felicity? This Objection (ſays he)
" ſuppoſes, that the moſt wicked Antichriſtian Government,
" may be a Lawful Government in point of Conſcience. Nay
" even godly Mr. *Baxter*, who was one of thoſe *Moderate Diſ-*
" *ſenters*, that as our Author ſays, *ſometimes receiv'd the Lord's* Page 13.
" *Supper in the Communion of the Church of England*; he tell us that
" Biſhops are Thorns and Thiſtles, and the Military Inſtru- Baxter's *Con-*
" ments of the Devil. —— (*a*) Prelacy is a Government *cord.* p. 122.
" which gratifieth the Devil and wicked Men —— That it is a- (*a*) *Five Diſ-*
" gainſt the will of GOD, and the Welfare of the Churches, *put.* p. 36.
" —— (*b*) Contrary to the Word of GOD and Apoſtolical and *Preface*
" Inſtitution. (*c*) Is the Product of proud Ambition and Ar- p. 18.
" gancy, and contrary to the expreſs command of Chriſt. (*b*) —p. 51.
(*d*) The *Common-Prayer-Book* and *Epiſcopacy* are call'd *the* (*c*) *Five Diſ-*
Two great Plague-Sores of the Land, by *Love* at the *Uxbridge* *put.* p. 45.
Treaty. Nor does the *Communion Office* fare better, tho' (*d*) *In a Serm.*
we have a great Authority, that it is *certainly One of the Bright-* *there*, Jan 30.
eſt and beſt compos'd of any that ever was in the Church of GOD. 1644. p. 29.
So that he who is not *ſatisfied with every other part of Confor-*
mity, may yet be ſuppos'd to be *ſatisfied with this:* For if we
will believe the Diſſenters, " this very *Communion Book*, is an
" Imperfect Book, cull'd and pick'd out of the Popiſh Dung- *Dang. Poſit.*
" hil the *Portuyſe* and Maſs Book. The Sacraments are wick- l. 2. c. 9.
" edly mangled and prophan'd. They eat not the Lord's
Supper, but play a Pageant of their own to blind the People.
" And therefore down with *Baal*'s Altars, down with *Baal*'s Salway *to the*
" Prieſts, *&c.* ſays one of them, Preaching to the Commons. *Commons* Oct.
" Throw away the Rubbiſh (ſays * another) out with the 25. 1643. p. 19.
" Lord's Enemies and the Lands; Vex the *Midianites*, abo- * Coleman *to*
" liſh the *Amalekites*, elſe they will vex you with their wiles *the Commons*,
" as they have done heretofore. Let Popery find no favour Aug. 30. 1643.
" becauſe it is Treaſonable; *Prelacy as little becauſe it is Ty-* p. 64.
" *rannical.* The Hierarchy is become a fretting *Gangreen* and Ibid p. 39.
" ſpreading Leproſy, and Inſupportable Tyranny? Up with
" it, Up with it to the Bottom, Root and Branch, Hip and
" Thigh, Deſtroy theſe *Amalekites*, and let their place be
" found no more. I profeſs, ſays *Aſh* to the Commons, that March 30th.
" I cannot expect a compleat Deliverance from theſe and o- 1642. p. 61.
" ther like Oppreſſions, but by the Extirpation of the Frame
" [of Prelatical Government] *Iſrael* will not be cured without
" a full and total extirpation of all the accurſed things and Per-
" ſons alſo, ſays *Faircloth*. And an Anſwer to the *London*-Petition *On Joſh.* 7.
tells 25. p. 25.

Folio 33. tells you, " Epiſcopacy muſt not be *Moderated* nor Reſerv'd ;
(See *Moderation a Vertue*, p. 16.) " but preſently and wholly taken away. (This Writer it ſeems was none of our Author's Acquaintance.) " The Biſhops muſt " be utterly extirpated, no leſs than the *Romans* rooted out " the very name of *Tarquins* for the Tyranny they had exer- " cis'd. A Wind to fan or cleanſe will not ſerve their turn ; " but it muſt be a full mighty Wind to root up, and carry a- " way the very foundation of their being, *So ſays Sions Plea* ; " *and Chriſt on his Throne*. No matter whether or no they have the Sovereign's Authority, for *Lex Rex* will tell you (*p.* 175.) that it will not *excuſe the States* to ſay, " we could not judge " the Cauſe of the Poor, nor cruſh the Prieſts of *Baal*, and " the Idolatrous *Maſs Prelates*, becauſe the King forbad us.

Bond. Aſſem. Div. to the Commons. Mar. 27. 1644. p. 49. Thus one of them Bleſſes GOD that the Commons had put into the Scales of Juſtice the Archeſt Prelate of the Land. " Happy ſhall he be, ſay they, that taketh the Curſed Malignant " and Prelatical Brood, and daſheth them againſt the Stones. Conſidering all this, it was no hard matter to gueſs from what Quarter *the Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters* came, notwithſtanding the Diſguiſe it appear'd in. For it is natural enough to ſuppoſe that other Men will deal with us as we would have dealt with them.

Jerubaal Redivivus 1663. p. 22. Nor do they change their Style after the Reſtauration, for " who cannot Witneſs, *ſays one*, the Superſtitious abuſe of " *England*'s Liturgy ? Superſtitious ſay I ? Nay Idolatrous, " what is by the *Smectymnuan Epiſcopo Maſtix* alledg'd of the " Liturgy 20 Years ago, I doubt is verify'd of it ſtill. The

Vindiciæ Cultus Evangelici. 1668. p. 42. " Miniſtry of the Church of *England*, ſays another, is falſe, " ſuperſtitious and idolatrous ; therefore it is *Unlawful* for the " People of GOD to join in it. —— The Perſons perform- " ing the Publick Worſhip of the Church of *England*, are no " Officers appointed by Chriſt, but an *Anti-chriſtian Miniſtry*,

Ibid 39. " *ſuch as deſign'd the ruin of Godlineſs*, and Idolaters. The Church " of *England* evidently declare themſelves Limbs of Anti- " chriſt, therefore there is no Communion to be kept with " ſuch in their Publick Worſhip. The Church Miniſtry and " Worſhip in *England* are all Antichriſtian, from which all " GOD's People are in Duty and Conſcience bound to ſepa- " rate themſelves : So ſay *the Eight Propoſitions* : And there-

Smectym. Rediv. 1660. p. 58. " fore, ſay they, The Plaſtering or Palliating theſe Rotten " Members [the Biſhops] will be a greater diſhonour to " the Nation and Church, than their cutting off ; and the

Per-

" Perſonal Acts of theſe Sons of *Belial*, being conniv'd at, be-
" come National Sins. But theſe People were, it ſeems, mi-
ſtaken, they had not found the Benefit of *Occaſional Con-
formity*.

Time indeed has ſhewn that their Fears that *Biſhops and their* Smectymnuus p. 66
Adherents " will rather conſent to the bringing in of Popery,
" for the upholding of their Dignities, than part with their
" Dignities for the upholding of Religion ", are altogether
Groundleſs, ſo that they are now aſhamed of them, being
pleas'd to allow the Church of *England* to be a great *Bulwark* Moder. a Ver p. 11
againſt Popery. And the Names of *Petty-Popes*, *petty Anti-chriſt*,
Popiſh Prieſt and the like, are quite out of Faſhion, in *England*
at leaſt. For ſome People tell us that there is a Nation in
which Presbytery prevails, ſhewing it ſelf in its true Colours,
who will not allow Liberty of Conſcience to the Epiſcopal
Clergy, no not at their Sovereign's Deſire; and no doubt this
Severity towards them is becauſe of their being Popiſhly af-
fected, among other the like good Reaſons!

Indeed he very well underſtood the Spirit of Diſſenters, (for Cranford's Sermon
he was a Presbyterian) who puts this pertinent Queſtion, before the Lord-
" Would theſe Men that ſo highly defend Toleration, Grant Mayor, Feb 1. 1645 p. 1.
" that Toleration (if they had Power in their hands) to others,
" which they deſire for themſelves? I doubt it. The *Arrians*
" did ſometimes ſeem as earneſt Enemies to Perſecution, as
" theſe Men; yet when they had Authority on their Side,
" they rais'd a Perſecution againſt the *Orthodox*, more terri-
" ble than the Heathen Emperors againſt the *Chriſtians*.

So much for their Favours to the Church; let us now ſee
how far the State is obliged to them. " Princes muſt re- Tho. Cartwright.
" member ſay they, to Subject themſelves to the Church, p. 645.
" [that is to themſelves,] and to ſubmit their Scepters, to
" throw down their Crowns before the Church, and to lick
" the Duſt of the Feet of the Church.

Is not one apt to take this for a Speech of Pope *Alexander* III.
to the Emperor *Barbaroſſa*, and not for the Sentence of Diſſenting
Tho. Cartwright? " The Holy Diſcipline, (ſays the famous Mr. P. 91, &c.
Knox in his *Exhortation to England*,) ought to be ſet up, and
" all Princes to ſubmit themſelves under the Yoke of it; What
" Prince, King, or Emperor, ſhall Diſannul the ſame, he is to
" be reputed G O D's Enemy, and to be held unworthy to Reign
" above his People. Nay, if the King be a Murderer, Adulterer Knox's Hist.
" or an Idolater [and we know what they us'd to call Idolatry] P. 392.

" he ſhall ſuffer according to GOD's Law, not as a King, but
* Eccleſ. Diſcip. p. 142. " as an Offender. For Kings no leſs than the reſt, muſt Obey
" and Yield to the Juſt Authority of the Eccleſiaſtical Magi-
Maynard *to the Commons*, Oct. 23. 1646. *p.* 15. " ſtrates. Thoſe mine Enemies which would not that I ſhould
" Reign over them, ſays another, bring hither and ſlay them
" before me. Let me ſee them Executed, Kings, Rulers, Peo-
" ple conſpiring Rebellion againſt the Lord and againſt His
* *At* Black-Friars, *Sept.* 11. 1653. *See* Dang. Pos. *L.* 2. *Ch.* 1. " Chriſt. Let us be active ſays * *Feak* againſt the Kings and
" Princes of the Earth, thoſe Claws of the Cruel Beaſt. The
" Subjects (ſay others) did kill the Queen's Highneſs *Athaliah*;
" *Jehu* kill'd the Queen's Majeſty *Jezebel*; *Elias* being no
" Magiſtrate, kill'd the Queen's Majeſty's Chaplains, *Baal's*
" *Prieſts. Theſe Examples are left for our Inſtruction. Where*
" *this Juſtice is not executed the State is moſt Corrupt.* Was not
this fair Warning to Queen *Elizabeth*? in whoſe happy Reign
The Tenure of Kings and Magiſtrates. 1649. they broach'd this Precious Doctrine! And again, " It is
" Lawful for any who have the Power, to call to Account a
" Tyrant or Wicked King, and after due Conviction to De-
" poſe and put him to Death, if the Ordinary Magiſtrate hath
" neglected or denyed to do it. We know what *Portraiture*
they drew *of the Kings of England*, 1650. and if I remember
right, there was ſuch a ſort of Portraiture Printed not many
Page 15. Years ago. In the former they ſay, " Shall the Parliament of
" *England* be now blamed for cutting off that *Race of Uſurpers*
" and Tyrants, reducing Affairs to their firſt Natural and
" Right Principle? Or will the People of *England*, after all
" their Experiences, center their Liberties and Freedoms in
The falſe Brother, p. 34. 1651. " a Cuſtomary Uſurpation of Succeſſion? The Parliament ha-
" ving wiſely chang'd the Government to a Commonwealth,
" and cut off that *Hereditary Uſurpation of Monarchy*, which
(a) *True Portraiture*, p. 39. " was never either juſtly begun or continued. *(a)* As for the
" Title of this Prince [King *Charles* II.] who would fain be
" accounted the Right Heir, let us but remember from
" whence he had it, and how it is now tainted: Were it
" never ſo juſt, the Treaſons of the Father have cut off
" the Son.

Thus they not only Murder'd King *Charles* I. but juſtify'd that
England's Tranſlation of the *Scots* Declaration, 1650. P. 18. Murder even to the laſt. " As it is unqueſtionably Lawful, ſay
" they, on ſerious and real grounds to Depoſe and to do Juſtice on
" Kings and Princes, as other Magiſtrates, ſo never was there
" a greater and more Univerſal Concurrence of all Reaſons
" and Circumſtances, and a greater Harmony of the Laws of
Nature,

" Nature, Reaſon, Prudence and Neceſſity, to warrant any
" Act than was found and may be diſcern'd in that Act of
" Juſtice upon the late King. I bleſs GOD's Name, ſays *Nine Mens Speeches*, P. 71.
" *Scott*, at his Execution, he has engag'd me in a Cauſe *not to*
" *be Repented of.* In all that has paſt, ſays *Barkſtead*, I could *Three Mens Speeches.*
" never yet ſuffer ſo much as a Wiſh to paſs through my
" Thoughts, *Oh that I had not been engag'd in this thing!* Or,
" *that I had before* 48 *deſerted this Cauſe!* And *Okey* at the
" ſame time, ſpeaks to the ſame Effect. As does * *Corbet* at * *Three Reg. Speeches*, p. 57.
" his Execution. —— And ſo *Harriſon*, as to the *Blood of the King*, *Nine Mens Speeches*
" I have not in the leaſt any Guilt lying upon me——Bleſſed P. 2. *See alſo.* P. 6. 10.
" be GOD that I have a Life to loſe upon ſo Glorious and
" ſo Honourable an Account. And *Cooke*, I cannot confeſs P. 14.
" my Guilt.——I look upon it as the moſt noble and high
" Act of Juſtice that our Story can Parallel. And ſays *Ca-* P. 15.
" *rew*, I die, not *in* the Lord only, but *for* the Lord, and
" think not that this *Bleſſed Cauſe* ſhall be loſt; for it ſhall reach
" to the End of the Earth. Blood ſhall come down ſhortly
" upon *Babylon*. The *Cauſe*, ſays *Barkſtead*, lies in the Bo-
" ſom of Chriſt, and as ſure as Chriſt aroſe, the *Cauſe ſhall riſe* *Speeches of the Regicides.* P. 16.
" *again*. And thus they alſo juſtify their Covenant, (which *See their Speeches.*
was that indeed which brought the King to the Block) to
the laſt.

Nor is this only the Conſcience of theſe hardned Villains who were immediately concern'd in the Blood of their Sovereign, even their Preachers are of the ſame Mind, tho' indeed it is hard to ſay which is worſe, the Actors of that Villainy, or thoſe Trumpeters of Rebellion who infus'd that Fury into them. " For my part, ſays *Love*, I have oppos'd the Ty- *In his Speeches*, Sect. 20.
" ranny of the King. —— And were he alive again, and ſhould England's *Diſtemper*, Sect. 14.
" I live longer, the (Cauſe being as then it was) I ſhould op-
" poſe him longer. And again, * I die cleaving to all thoſe * *Love's Tryal.* 1652.
" Oaths, Vows and Proteſtations that were impos'd by the
" Two Houſes of Parliament, as owning them, and dying
" with my Judgment for them. " Remember ſays Mr. *Baxter*, *Holy Com. Pref. to the Army.*
(that *Moderate Diſſenter* and *Occaſional Conformiſt*,) how far I
" have gone with you in the War: And ſhall I be afraid of my old
moſt intimate Friends? " If I had known, continues he, that the *Ibid.* P. 48
" Parliament had been the Beginners, and in moſt Fault, yet
" the Ruin of our Truſtees and Repreſentatives, ſo of all the
" Security of the Nation is a Puniſhment greater than any
" Fault of theirs againſt the King can from him deſerve; and

" their Faults can't diſoblige me from defending the Common-
Ibid. P. 433. " wealth —— If I had taken up Arms againſt the Parlia-
" ment in the War, my Conſcience tells me I had been a
" Traitor, and guilty of Reſiſting the Higheſt Powers. ——
Ibid. P. 476. " And I cannot ſee that I was miſtaken in the Main Cauſe,
" nor *dare I repent* of it, *nor forbear the ſame if it were to do again*,
In his Append. to Independ. &c. P. 528. " [Mark this] in the ſame State of Things. In ſum, *Baſtwick* ſhall give you an Account of *all the Faithful Presbyterian Miniſters* in general, " *Many of which ventur'd their Lives in Battel*, beſides the Benefit of their Prayers. —— " Neither is that all,
" but by their Wiſdom, Vigilancy, and *Powerful and Perſuaſive Preaching*, * they were the principal Means under GOD
* Thus Marſhal 1641. " *I pray, ſays he, " look on me as " one that comes a-" mong you this " day, to beat a " Drum in your " Ears, to ſee who " will come out and " follow the Lamb.*
" of keeping the People here and every where in Obedience
" to the Parliament. By reſolving their Doubts, ſatisfying
" their Scruples, and going before the People to their Abili-
" ties, yea (many of them, to my knowledge out of Zeal to
" the Cauſe) beyond their Abilities in all Contributions, ani-
" mating and encouraging others to bring in their Plate and
" Moneys, and whatſoever was of Price and Eſteem with
" them; exhorting them now if ever, to ſtand for their Re-
" ligion, Lives, Liberties, and the Liberty of the Subject.
Exam. of the new Query, 1646. *Epiſt. Dedic.* So *Ley*, " It is not unobſerv'd by the Wiſe, that the Miniſters
" have been very Serviceable to the Civil State, and to the
" Military too: Not only (1.) by their Supplications to GOD.
" — But (2.) by their *Informations* and (3.) *Solicitations* of the
" People to engage both their Eſtates and Perſons in the
" Cauſe of GOD and their Country. Here is an Extraor-
Oct. 6. 1643. " dinary Appearance of ſo many Miniſters, ſays *Calamy* (in
his Speech at *Guild-Hall*) " to encourage you in this Cauſe,
" that you may ſee how real the *Godly Miniſtry* in *England* is
See his Speech. " unto this Cauſe". And indeed *Axtel* at his Execution aſcribes both his engaging in that Cauſe and perſiſting in it, to *the Work* of that *Miniſtry*, his keeping Days of Faſting and Prayer with *Love*, *Woodcock*, *Aſh*, &c. There may be good
Mod. a Ver, *p.* 12. Reaſon we ſee why the *Occaſional Conformiſt* is better pleaſed with the *cloſe and lively Preaching* of the Diſſenting Miniſters, than with that of the Orthodox Clergy; theſe poor Men have been reproach'd for their *Paſſive* Doctrines, and know not how to come up to the Vigor and Activity of the other.

See Mene Tekel, *p.* 63. Nor do the Diſſenters ſhew greater Reſpect to Parliaments
Lex Rex, *p.* 159. than they do to Kings, " The Privileges and Lawful Prero-
" gatives of the Sovereign, ſays one, muſt veil in Caſes of
Neceſſity

" Neceſſity, unto this high and Supreme Law, *The Safety of the* " *People*, Then no leſs muſt the Privileges of a Parliament " yield to this. Parliaments are the Peoples Servants will " *Mene Tekel* tell you.—— *What Authority had the Parlia- " ment to give away our Birth-Rights? to enſlave the *Corpo-* " *rations* and *Countries* that ſent them up to aſſert their Free- " doms, and to expoſe us to the Luſts of Wicked Oppreſſors; " to give away the *Militia* of the Land to the King? —— The " Parliaments giving away our Birth-Rights to the King, is " juſt of as much Force as if the Convocation of Prelates or " Council of Biſhops ſhould give our Souls to the Devil: they " have as much power to do the latter, as the Parliament " have to do the former. And ſays another, who calls his " Book the *Engliſh-man*, " Our Fundamentals were not made " by our Repreſentatives, but by the People themſelves; and " our Repreſentatives themſelves Limited by them; which it " were good the *Parliament* as well as People would Obſerve, " and be faithful to. For no *Derivative Power* can Null what " their *Primitive Power* has Eſtabliſh'd. Would not one think that *Legion* had conſulted this Writer? or a later Author (viz.) *A Diſcourſe upon the Union of Scotland and England*, Print- ed *A. D.* 1702. who *P.* 163, 164. tells us, " Neither have our " [the *Scottiſh*] Repreſentatives in Parliament an abſolute and " Unlimited Power, but are obliged to Act according to the " Inſtructions of thoſe who ſend them, and in all Changes " propos'd relating to our Fundamental Conſtitution, they " ought to conſult their Electors before they come to any Fi- " nal Determination. ——They cannot evert and alter Fun- " damentals — it ought not to be done by Repreſentatives, " unleſs they have ſpecial Authority to that purpoſe. But I ſhall take no more notice of this Book at preſent, which ſeems fitter for the Animadverſion of the Government, than for the Correction of a Private Hand.

* Page 41. P. 50, 51.

P. 11. 1670.

Neither ſhall I bring any further Evidences of the Diſſenters Principles concerning the Civil Government, Maxims of State have their Revolutions as well as Empires, and therefore I ſhall refer the Reader to the Authors themſelves, to *Knox* and *Buchanan*, *Lex Rex*, *Mene Tekel*, *Napthali*, *Apologetical Rela- tion*, *Hiſtory of Indulgence*, *Valley of Achor*, *Tenure of Kings and Magiſtrates*, *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, *Jus Populi*, *Little Ben- jamin*, *Junius Brutus*, *Political Catechiſm*, *Raviliac Redivivus*, *Baxter's Holy Common-wealth*, as alſo to *Bancroft's Dangerous Poſitions*,

Poſitions, from all which the Reader may make his own Collections, as alſo from thoſe *Remonſtrances* which he will find either in *the Works of K. Charles* the I*ſt*. or in other Collections.

But to ſay all in a word, it is not this or that Prince that theſe People have a pique to, be his Religion or Adminiſtration what it may, 'tis the *Conſtitution* they fall foul on, all their endeavours are to break *this*, and to place it on a new foot. Either out of Vanity to ſhew their Politicks, and the reach of their Genius, and to put their fine Models in Practice; or elſe to fill their Pockets and raiſe themſelves to Poſts of Honour; or it may be to ſatiate their Revenge againſt ſuch as they think have offended them, or their Envy at others who over-top them. It matters not therefore what the Prince is, if he have faults, or be any way obnoxious, ſo much the better, their work is ſhorter. But if he be ever ſo Good and ſo Juſt, they will either find Faults or make them: They will either be Uppermoſt themſelves, or give no quiet to thoſe that are; till having exaſperated them to the utmoſt, and he muſt be ſomewhat more than a Man that can always keep his Temper under great and unjuſt Provocations; they will take occaſion from the Juſt Severities they have drawn on themſelves, to complain of the Hardſhips, the *Perſecutions* and what not, which they ſuffer from the Government.

Thus in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth* of moſt Renowned Memory, whoſe Government will always be Exemplary to her Succeſſors, and who was no Perſecuting Prince, nor can any *Blemiſh* of that kind be juſtly caſt on her *Auſpicious Reign*, the Diſſenters make horrible Out-crys of Perſecution. "The "Land is ſore troubled, ſay they, there's no place, nor "being for a faithful Miniſter of the Word. Our Bloud "crys for Vengeance againſt the Biſhops. ——If this *Per-* "*ſecution* be not provided for, 'tis the Caſe of many thou- "ſand in *England*; great Troubles will come of it. But would you know the true meaning of this Perſecution; why they tell the Queen, "That as long as ſhe maintains theſe "curſed Acts of 1584. the Tyranny of Biſhops, *&c.* She is a "Perſecutor, and the Servants of GOD are Perſecuted un- "der her." Yet notwithſtanding all their Clamours, this Wiſe Prince we know did not think fit to alter her Meaſures; but held the Reins of Government ſteddily, and gave no Encouragement to Diſſenters. Nor was this a *Popiſh Management*,

Dangerous Poſitions L. 2. Ch. 10.

Ib. l. 1. c. 5.

nagement, but the Method that was us'd by the Glorious Eſtabliſher of the Reformation. The *Popiſh Management* as we found not many Years ago, was to weaken the Church by granting Liberty of Conſcience to Diſſenters, ſtrengthning theſe to play them againſt the Church; and the Diſſenters giving in to this Deſign, was that indeed which reduc'd us to *Extremities*. The truth is, they themſelves were for a *ſhort way with the* Church, " Cut down the Malignants with the Sword of Juſtice, (ſays " *Walker*) root them out and conſume them as with Fire, that " no Root may ſpring again. " Curſed be he who withholdeth " his Sword from Blood, *ſays* Caſe *to the Commons*, and ſo " *Strickland*. And (*a*) *Marſhal* who tells both Houſes, (*b*) 'tis " *better* to behold a People lie *wallowing in their Blood*, than to " ſee them embracing [what he calls] Idolatry and Super- " ſtition. Neither let your eye ſpare, *ſays another*, tho' there " are *Great ones* that are Guilty. The *Higheſt Court* may " reach the *Higheſt Perſons.*" They are for bleeding *England in the Malignant* Vein. (*c*) One could not be a *Moderate* Man in thoſe days, for *Marſhal* (*d*) threatens *like Doom and Execution* upon *Politique Neuters* from the hand of Chriſt, as the Men of *Succoth* and *Penuel* had from *Gideon*. " Shew not " the leaſt Countenance (ſays *Heyrick*) to the Deteſtable *Neu-* " *trality* that is practiſed by many, GOD writes in His " Book, write you in yours, all *Neuters*, *Enemies.*" *Baxter* was once ſo honeſt as to own " I have been weak in the Heat of " my Zeal, ſo forward to Changes and ways of Bloud, that " I fear GOD will not let me have a hand in the Peaceable " Building of his Church. Indeed it was a Maxim with them, " That the Sword, not Diſputes nor Treaties, muſt end the " Controverſies; therefore, ſays *Love*, turn your Ploughſhares " into Swords, and your Pruning-Hooks into Spears, to Fight " the Lord's Battles, to avenge the Blood of Saints, which hath " been ſpilt. It muſt be aveng'd either by us, or upon us. And *Leech* ſings the ſame Song, in the very ſame Words; Nay, rather than not pull down *Babylon*, they are reſolv'd to die with her.

Jan. 29. 1644.

On Dan. 11. 32. p. 24.

No. 5. 1644. p. 26.

(*a*) Feb. 23. 1641.

(*b*) Jan. 18. 1643. p. 18.

Heyrick *to the Commons*, May 27. 1646. p. 23.

(*c*) Staunton *to the Lords*, Oct. 30th 1644. p. 26.

(*d*) *To the Commons* Feb. 23. 1641. p. 23.

To the Commons May 27. 1646. p. 26

See *his Letters in Hypocriſy unveiled.* 1662. p. 11.

Love *at* Uxbridge Jan. 30. 1644. p. 7.

In his Sermon 1644. Bond, 1644. p. 59

Inſtances are endleſs, but the Reader no doubt is weary by this time, and ſo am I, let this therefore ſuffice for a Specimen of *the harmleſs* and *Moderate Diſſenter*, or *Occaſional Conformiſt*, *his Charitable Sentiments of*, *and Friendly Approaches to the Church*; his *little Peculiarities*, which *ſhould* not *be a bar to his ſerving the Government!* And if he complains any more of *Hardſhips*

Moderat. a Perſwa. p. 24. p. 26. p. 5. p. 24. p. 30. 34.

Hardſhips, I can only pity him and leave his Brother Diſſenter to tell him: (*a*) " You Complain of your Miſery and Bon-
" dage, Sorrows and Oppreſſions, and Troubles of the Church.
" What ails you? What Troubles you? Who Oppreſſes you?
" Where is the leaſt ſhew of Oppreſſion, or Cauſe of Com-
" plaint Miniſtred to you? except it be becauſe you are *not*
" *ſuffer'd to Oppreſs your Brethren?* Can you feed upon nothing
" but Blood, yea, the Blood of your Brethren, yet tho' you
" have nothing elſe, you ſo complain of Sorrow and Oppreſſion?
" Is this your Sorrow and Oppreſſion that you cannot Oppreſs?

(*a*) *Saltmarſh the Independent to the Presbyterian in his* Pulpit Incendiary, p. 45. 1648.

He who would be further Inform'd in their Apothegms, may conſult Diſſenters Sayings, 1683.

In fine, whatever other uſe the Reader may make of this Collection, it will at leaſt ſerve to ſhew, that Popular Arguments ſuch as are us'd for *Diſſenters* and *Occaſional Conformiſts* in oppoſition to that ſecurity the Honourable Houſe of Commons deſign'd the Church, will ſerve any Cauſe and any Party; they are mere flouriſhes and beſides the Queſtion, either plain Contradictions to matter of Fact, or ſuch ſtretcht Conſequences, and falſe Deductions, that they anſwer themſelves. But as a Diſſenter tells us, " Satan and his Miniſters transform them-
" ſelves into Angels of Light, falſe Teachers uſually
" come to ſeduce Men in Sheeps cloathing, there is no He-
" retick, Schiſmatick or Sectary whatſoever, ſo Pernicious,
" ſo Groſs and Deteſtable, but pretends his Way, Doctrine
" Practiſe, to be the Way and Truth of Chriſt." Thus be-
cauſe *there is no Power but of GOD*, *Saunders* at *Exeter* to the Judges concludes, that King *Charles* I. with his Heirs and Succeſſors are Depos'd by GOD: A very Logical and Orthodox Inference! and *Jenkins* will have it, " That GOD's Pro-
" vidences (that is, His Permiſſion of Events and Succeſ-
" ſes) are antecedent *Declarations* of His *Good-will* and *Appro-*
" *bation.*" And *Milton* (who was a better Poet than Divine or Politician) " To have brought the King to Condign Pu-
" niſhment, hath not broke the Covenant, but it would have
" broke the Covenant to have ſav'd him. — GOD hath te-
" ſtify'd by all Propoſitions and evident Signs, whereby in
" theſe latter times he is wont to teſtify what pleaſes him,
" that ſuch a ſolemn and for many Ages unexampled Act of
" due Puniſhment, was no mockery of Juſtice, but a moſt grate-
" ful and well-pleaſing Sacrifice. —— Might not one have ar-
gued at this rate for *Mahometiſm*, before the late ſucceſſes of the Emperour? And if a Thief meets me on the High-way and goes off with my Purſe, therefore he has a Right to it, and GOD Approves the Action! —— I meant

Pryn *cited by* Goodwin, *Innocency and Truth*, p. 33.

Mar. 23. 1650. p. 24.

Mr. Jenkins's *Petition*, Oct. 1651.

Iconoclaſt: *p.* 237.

I meant not to exaſperate any, by the review of what is paſt, but to ſet matters in a juſt light, and therefore I hope the Diſſenters and their Patrons will pardon me, who am of the humour of the *French* Satyriſt.

Je ſuis ruſtique et fier, et j'ai l'ame groſſiere.
Je ne puis rien nommer, ſi ce n'eſt pas ſon Nom;
J'appelle un Chat un Chat, et Rolet un Fripon.

The Murder of King *Charles* I. is the gentleſt expreſſion by which one can mention that execrable Action. To ſay it was done with the Formality of Juſtice, and at his own Palace door, is only an aggravation of the Crime. If the Picture of a Hypocrite, a Schiſmatick, a Factious Perſon, *&c.* offends ſome ſort of People, let them not reproach the Painter, but themſelves, for the Reſemblance. Thoſe who Love Truth as every honeſt Perſon does, muſt ſpeak it, wherever the Cenſure may fall. And it is a wrong method to be angry at the Glaſs that ſhews our ſpot, we ought rather to waſh it off by an effectual Reformation.

No Chriſtian would be ſo barbarous as to rip up the Wounds of a Penitent, but it is the brighteſt Act of Charity to lance and ſcarify the Callous Sinner. One would not remember paſt ills, did they not ſee the ſame methods renew'd with a little variation to ſuit them to the humours of the Times, that they may paſs the better. Why are ſo many Attacques given, if thoſe who are faithful to the Conſtitution muſt not Defend it? Why are we peſter'd with ſuch a ſwarm of Pamphlets if there muſt be no reply? Why is ſo malicious a Collection of the Pretended Differences among the Members of the Church, ſo induſtriouſly rak'd up, not at all to the purpoſe, by ſuch as would ſeem to have *charitable Sentiments of*, to *make Friendly Approaches, and to have no ſiniſter Intentions towards the Eſtabliſh'd Church?* Page 19. Page 5. Page 11.

Tho' methinks our Author in his Collection, might have paſt by thoſe *Miniſters* who do not follow the *Rubrick*, but *read more or leſs* of the Prayers, as *Occaſion requires*, for theſe no doubt are ſpecial Friends to the Occaſional Conformiſt. However, it may afford us this remarque, That a *Complier*, or what they call a *Moderate Man*, who is not firm to his Principles, and does not Act up to them, tho' he may be wheedled and careſs'd for a while, is at the ſame time ſecretly diſpos'd; and when thoſe Ends are ſerv'd which made his Compliance Page 23.

more uſeful, than an intire going over to them, unleſs he become throwly their Proſelyte, he ſhall fare no better than his Brethren, whom he abandons, or which is worſe, Betrays. Nay, he ſhall not come off ſo well: for the Steddy, honeſt Man, tho' he is moſt ſtruck at, becauſe moſt oppoſite to ill Deſigns, yet he is ſecretly Honour'd and Valued, how much ſoever he may be traduc'd and Calumniated to ſerve a turn.

Allowing that the Diſſenters are at preſent in ever *ſo good a Temper*, that *Liberty of Conſcience* has *diminiſh'd the number of Diſſenters* and that they *are coming into the Church*, unleſs *Severity* keeps them out, which yet is ſooner ſaid than prov'd, the contrary being too *viſible*; yet it is no good Inference, that therefore the Church is ſo ſafe, that no new meaſures need be taken for her Security. Deſtruction falling more ſurely, as well as more heavily, upon the Publick as well as upon private Perſons, when they are lull'd a-ſleep with an Opinion of their own ſafety, and think themſelves moſt Secure.

It is not to be denied, 'tis ſo plain and ſo notorious a Truth, beſides, we have the Lords Authority for it. " That the " Diſſenters have formerly been Seditious, and have appear'd " in open Rebellion, declaring both againſt Church and State. But it does not appear that this *was the Effect of Perſecution*; Their Sedition indeed has often drawn the Civil Power upon them in its juſt defence, but in all the Accounts we meet with in Hiſtory, we do not find that the Government has begun with them? Queen *Elizabeth* had enough to do, to Eſtabliſh the Reformation aud to guard her ſelf and that Eſtabliſhment from the Deſigns of the Papiſts who were at that time a ſtrong and numerous Party: So that it had been very Impolitick in her to raiſe more Enemies, by being ſtrict upon the Diſſenters; if it had not been much more Impolitick to Proſtitute the Majeſty of Government to the Intrigues of Turbulent Men, and to let Sedition eſcape with Impunity. We find her therefore Conſtant in her Maxims of State, and firm in executing her Reſolutions. And to this in a great meaſure may the Felicity of her Reign be aſcrib'd; as the Misfortune of King *Charles* I. did chiefly proceed from his being betray'd into Unſteddineſs of * Conduct; and his want of that neceſſary piece of King-craft, the being always upon his Guard againſt thoſe who made him.

In their Proceedings Oct. *p.* 27, 28.

* *Thus my Lord* Clarendon, vol. I. B. II. *p.* 96. *tells us, that the King might have* " *ſettled the Church in* Scotland, *and all* " *things elſe according to his Pleaſure, if he* " *had but ſat ſtill, and been* Conſtant to his " own Intereſt, *and* Poſitive in Denying " *their Inſolent Demands.*

him the greateſt Profeſſions of Fidelity; for a Wiſe Prince ought to put himſelf in no bodys hands, nor ſhould he put it in any Man's Power to Ruin him. Whereas in all probability had he been Firm in any Method, and undauntedly purſued it, depending more upon his own Judgment and leſs upon other Mens Advice; thoſe Confuſions which were ſo fatal to Prince and People might have been prevented, unleſs our Sins had made us ſo ripe for Ruin that nothing could prevent it.

We do not find that the Diſſenters ſuffer'd any Hardſhips under King *Charles* I. merely upon Account of their Separation from the Church, for what a few of them ſuffer'd for Seditious Libelling is another matter. An Author of their own, who lets no ſpiteful Obſervation eſcape him, tho' he tells us that Queen *Elizabeth diſcountenanc'd them continually*; *and as good a Queen as ſhe was put ſome of them to Death*, (which certainly was not for *(a)* Conſcience ſake, but for Treaſon and Sedition.) And that King *James* I. *hunted them quite out of the Nation*; yet he does not pretend that they were moleſted under King *Charles* I. and yet he owns that theſe Loyal and *harmleſs Diſſenters ſell in Unanimouſly with the Parliament*. Nor did thoſe little Proſecutions, which ſome Men who had more Warmth than Wiſdom, rais'd againſt them under King *Charles* II. bear any manner of Proportion to thoſe real and bitter Perſecutions, if Sequeſtrations, Impriſonments and loſs of Life may be call'd Perſecution, wherewith they purſued the Members of the Church of *England*, when themſelves had the Power in their Hands.

New Teſt of the Church of England's Loyalty, 1702. *p.* 10.

(a) *See Sir* E. Walſingham's *Letter to Monſ.* Critoy Cabala, p. 372, Ed. 3.

And by the way, one *does not well underſtand*, how any that profeſs themſelves *Members* of that *Church*, much leſs, ſuch as have the neareſt Relation and higheſt Obligation to her, can accuſe her of Perſecution, and make the *Sedition of the Diſſenters* an *Effect* of it. For tho' the being *Perſecuted* may be a Mark of the True Church, certainly the being a *Perſecutor* is none. One would think therefore that Conſcience ſhould carry them *from* a Church of ſo ill a Fame, were it not that there are certain *Prudential Reaſons* ſometimes, which lay a Reſtraint upon Conſcience. *But it was not an Open Enemy that has done me this Diſhonour*, ſays *David*, who was a Type of *Chriſt*, and in this of His Spouſe the Church, *he that eat of my Bread, has lift up his heel againſt me.*

It is very obſervable that there were only the Lords *Say* and *Brooke in the Houſe of Peers*, *taken notice of as Poſitive Ene-*

Lord Clarendon's *Hiſt.* Vol. 1, B. 111. *p.* 184.

mies to the whole Fabrick of the Church; and among the *Commons*, only *Nathanael Fiennes*, *Young* Sir *Harry Vane* and Mr. *Hambden*, in that Parliament which ſhortly after would not be content without *Root and Branch.* For even *Pym* and *Hollis* and the reſt, *who drove on moſt furiouſly with them, were not* then *of that Mind*, but *were pleas'd with the Government it ſelf of the Church.* The Earl of *Eſſex being always a moſt Conformable Man*, The Earl of *Bedford* liv'd well even with the Archbiſhop *Laud*; *and had no deſire that there ſhould be any Alteration in the Government of the Church, tho' 'tis true, he did not diſcountenance notoriouſly, thoſe of the Clergy, who were unconformable.*

Ib. p. 183. " But the Truth is, (as the Noble Hiſtorian remarks) They " who had made in their Hearts the moſt deſtructive Vows " againſt the Church, never durſt Communicate their Bloody " Wiſhes to their beſt Friends, whoſe Authority gave them *Ib.* p. 150. " their greateſt Credit. Nor was it to be wonder'd at, that " they daily gain'd Proſelytes, for they pretended all Publick " Thoughts, and only the Reformation of diſapprov'd and " Odious Enormities, and diſſembled all Purpoſes of remo- " ving Foundations, which, tho' it was in the Hearts of ſome, " they had not the Courage and Confidence to Communicate it. 'Tis too much to repeat all that *that* Noble Perſon ſays to this Purpoſe, 'tis worth the Reader's while to conſult him, *Vol.* I. *P.* 146, 147. And when he conſiders the *Artifices* and Managements that were us'd by *the Leading Men*, to bring over both Houſes; *the Major Part* of which *had no mind to break the Peace of the Kingdom*, but *would, if they were not over-reach'd, have adhered to the King and the Eſtabliſh'd Government*; *the Inventions that were ſet on foot from the beginning to work on them, and corrupt them by Suggeſtions* of *Dangers*, of *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery*; how the *Ambition* and *Malice* of ſome, and the *Hopes* and *Fears* *Ib.* p. 150. of others were wrought on; ſo that many " who did not ſuſ- " pect any Wickedneſs in Deſign, became involv'd by de- " grees in the Worſt, by obſerving and purſuing the Dictates *Ib.* p. 179. " and Directions of the other: And then thinking they had " gone too far to ſit ſtill or Retire. All this conſider'd, 'tis like the Reader may ask himſelf, if the Part that they then Play'd has not been Acted more than once?

Indeed the Government can never be too much upon its Guard againſt the Game that this ſort of Men have always play'd, when one remembers from what inconſiderable Beginnings that terrible Rebellion aroſe, which at laſt over-turn'd both

both Church and State. For tho' there were ſome Taxes and Impoſitions which the (*a*) Neceſſity of the Kings Affairs had put him upon, and which rather (*b*) *anger'd* than *griev'd* or burden'd *the People:* Yet theſe *were more than repair'd by the Quiet, Peace and Proſperity they enjoy'd.* And even after the Diſſolution of the Third Parliament which Men were ſo much offended at, there quickly follow'd " ſo excellent a Compoſure throughout the Whole Kingdom that the like Peace and Plenty and Univerſal Tranquility for ten Years, was never enjoy'd by any Nation.— " The Church was not repin'd at, nor the leaſt Inclination to alter the Government, or Diſcipline thereof, or to change the Doctrine, appear'd.

See my Lord Clarendon's *Hiſtory*, Vol. 1. B. 1. (*a*) p. 52, 53. (*b*) 71.

Ib. p. 52.

See alſo B. 2. p. 90. L. 43, *&c.*

Ib. p. 71. *alſo* p. 123.

And tho' no greater Cauſe of Offence was given than that Zeal which Archbiſhop *Laud* expreſs'd, in Proſecuting his *Pious and Juſt Deſigns*, for the Service of the *King*, *the Church and his Country*, (1.) by Diſcountenancing and Puniſhing Vice, even in the *greateſt Offenders*, by which he truly purſu'd that *Reformation of Manners*, which ſome Men *talk* of ſo much, and which all Good Chriſtians ſo paſſionately deſire. (2.) By reſcuing GOD's Houſe and Service from that *Prophane Liberty and Uncleanlineſs*, which the *Remiſsneſs* of his Predeceſſor had introduc'd. And (3.) by being ſo intirely devoted to his Maſters Service, and thereby in Truth to the Service of his Country; as to *oppoſe the Profit of Particular Perſons how Great ſoever*, when it leſſen'd the Publick Revenue. Tho' *he propos'd no End in all his Actions and Deſigns, but what was Pious and Juſt*, as ſure no Man had ever a Heart more entirely devoted to the King, the Church, or his Country, or was more plentifully repleniſh'd with a worthy Intention, as my Lord *Clarendon* aſſures us. " Yet (1.) being too ſecure in a good Conſcience, " and *this* moſt ſincere worthy Intention, which he ſuppos'd " would carry him through, without the little *Stratagems* and " Arts of the Court"; and (2.) proſecuting his very laudable " Deſigns with a Zeal more commendable in it ſelf than " proper to the Times he liv'd in"; (3.) Some Natural Infirmities in his Temper, rendring him leſs fit for the Work he undertook. (1.) His Noble Deſigns were diſregarded, and the ſmall Infirmities that attended them were ſo much improv'd by the Malice and Artifice of Buſie Men, who had greater Infirmities of their own, and not near ſo good Deſigns and Intentions, but had withall more Addreſs and Induſtry in purſuing them. (2.) The Peoples Minds *were awaken'd to a Jealouſy,*

Ib. p. 72.

Ib. p. 73.

Ib. p. 76.

Ib. p. 72.

Ib. p. 51.

P. 74.

Ib. p. 72.

P. 77.

Ib. p. 71.

as if more was *Intended*, by what they thought fit to call *Innovations*, than *was hitherto propos'd.* (3.) And they *Insinuated* that the Governours of the Church aim'd at greater *Alterations*, " for which they knew the People would quickly find a Name, tho' none but themselves aim'd at any.

Ib. p. 75.

Lord Clarendon. B. 2. p. 116. & B. 3. p. 162.

The Clergy indeed had continued to sit in form of a Synod after the Parliament was dissolv'd, making Canons, which they Legally *might*, in the Opinion of all the Judges, and enjoyning Oaths and giving Subsidies, which according to my Lord *Clarendon* they might not. But if Necessity may be pleaded, Necessity which is often urg'd not only to excuse but to Justify what the Letter of the Law has not provided for, the giving of their own Money was no unwarrantable Action. His Majesty being at that time under Pressing Wants, which the Parliament had no way provided for, and a foreign Army ready to Invade the Kingdom And though the Clergy of those Times were " most of them of confess'd Eminent Parts in Knowledge, and of Vertuous and *Unblemish'd Lives*; yet such was the Indefatigable Industry of the Party, (1.) In venting and spreading groundless Slanders, (2.) In taking all possible Licence in Preaching and Printing against the Church; (3.) So great was their Disingenuity and (4.) Address, (5.) their Improvement of every Occasion, letting no Advantage slip. (6.) Proceeding to Greater Things, when they had compass'd the Less by the Treachery of some, or the Weakness and Carelessness of others, who because they imagin'd such Concessions would content them, permitted them to carry what they desir'd, till at last they ended in the total Subversion of the Church, and then, as of Consequence, to that of the State also.

See B. 2. p. 167, &c.

Ib. p. 60.

Ib. B. 2. p. 158.

See Ib. 161. Ib. 187.

Ib. p. 184, 185.

See *also* B. 3. p. 164. & p. 170, 171.

Not that these Men exceeded the Friends of the Constitution either in Parts, Quality, Riches, or Numbers; but they exceeded them very much in their Arts and Application. It was *then* as the Lords tell us it is *now*, the Strength they had was among themselves, *which we are sure can no way be Compar'd to the Strength of the Establish'd Church.* So that the *Danger* to be *apprehended from* them arose from their Great Cunning and unwearied Industry, their dextrous Address to all Tempers, their sticking at no Devices, and making use of all Methods, and pursuing their Measures with an unshaken Firmness and Sedulity. How refractory soever they were to Lawful Authority, they paid an intire Deference and Submission to the Heads of the Party. The least Breach of Law in their Gover-

Proceedings Oct. p. 41.

Lord Clarendon, B. 2. p. 130.

nors

nors was maliciously aggravated, whilst their own Notorious Violations of the Laws, and even of the Privileges of Parliament which they made such a noise about, pass'd for Necessary or Meritorious Actions. And when they had corrupted the Peoples Minds, by their Scandalous and Malicious Pamphlets, with which no Age abounded more, unless the Present; weakning the Authority of the Government by Wounding the Reputation of their Governors; when they had Establish'd their Fraternities or Political Clubs, preventing such as might serve their Designs from "entering into any Familiarity or Con-"versation with any who were not fast to their Party: When they had removed the Kings most Faithful Servants, and Councellors, frighten'd the rest, and indeed "bereav'd him of all Publick Assistance and Advice in a Time when he needed it most; by a Promiscuous Admittance of the Enemies of the Government into the Privy Council, which according to my Lord *Clarendon* was either "Mediately or Immediately, the "Root and Spring of most of the Calamities that ensued. The sinking Condition of Monarchy in this Kingdom being never to be buoy'd up, but by a Prudent and Steady Council attending upon the Virtue and Vivacity of the King. And, which was the most important Point, when by their Arts and Industry they had got Parliaments of Prudence and Temper dissolv'd, such as had too much Loyalty and Wisdom to do their Business, and therefore these Mighty Patriots rejoic'd at that Dissolution which troubled all good Men; When by Factions in Elections, by Corruption and Undue Returns, by garbling the House and the like Practices, and by out-sitting and wearying out better Men, they were able to Manage the *House of Commons*; and had terrified or Wheedled both Houses to come into, or at least not to oppose their Measures; we had then a sufficient and never to be forgotten Demonstration of their good Affections to the Constitution, which he who would see at large may inform himself by consulting that Useful and every way excellent History, with which the Late Earl of *Clarendon* has oblig'd his Country.

Ib. p. 183.
Ib. B. 2. p. 113. B. 3. p. 157, 160.
Ib. 146.
Ib. 152.
Ib. 142.
Ib. p. 157.
See *ib.* 156.
P. 155, 156.
See *ib.* B. p. 109, 110.
Ib. p. 135, 140.

And as in those Days the narrow Fortunes of some, whose Hearts were above their Estates, and their Expectations beyond their Merit; and indeed the Luxury of too many, who made no better use of the Peace and Plenty with which GOD's Providence and his Vice-gerents Care had enrich'd the Nation, than to squander it upon their Vices whereby they reduc'd themselves

themſelves to uneaſy Circumſtances, had made the Revenues
P. 222. of the Church a much deſir'd Morſel; and the change of Meaſures and Miniſtries neceſſary, becauſe as they had manag'd, they could not live without it: So to our Shame be it ſpoken, we do not make a better Uſe of the Bleſſings we at preſent enjoy; we have as much Ambition, not of being truly Great, which is only by being truly Vertuous, but of making a Great Appearance; we give as uncontroll'd a Licence to our Luſts, we have as much Vanity, as much Covetouſneſs, as much Envy and Revenge as any of our Fore-fathers, and conſequently, unleſs the Goodneſs of GOD, and the Wiſdom of our Governors prevent it, the accurſed Seeds of Faction and Sedition, will take as deep a root, and produce as plentiful a Harveſt in this as in any Age.

And as it is neither *Hard* nor *Untrue* to affirm, that *Diſſenters never want the Will when they have Power to deſtroy the Church and State*, ſince they have given us too ſad and too full a Demonſtration of it: So neither is it a groundleſs Surmiſe, nor an Uncharitable Conjecture, to ſay, that whatever good words ſome of them may give us, they have not quitted this Deſign. For a noted Author among them, and who would have us believe
Calamy *in his Abridgment of* Baxter's *Life*, p. 552. him a *fair Repreſenter of Men and Things*, very lately, even ſince our Gracious Sovereign's moſt ſeaſonable Acceſſion to Her Throne, has told us, " That they were ſadly peſter'd " with the *Corporation Act*, the *Veſtry Act*, the *Oxford Act*, " the *Militia Act* (which were all fram'd by the Ruling Cler- " gy and their Patrons) whereby an Oath was impos'd upon " them *not to endeavour any Alteration of Government in the* " *Church*, to bind them to *reſt contented*, with what they could " not but eſteem Corrupt. So that when the *Oxford Act* 1665. " requir'd this Oath, I *A. B.* do Swear, that it is not lawful " upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the " King: And that I do abhor the Traiterous Poſition of tak- " ing Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt " thoſe that are Commiſſionated by him, in purſuance of ſuch " Commiſſion: *And that I will not at any time endeavour any* " *Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State*: They
P. 585. were at a loſs to find out a ſenſe wherein to take it, till my Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* promis'd to declare on the Bench, " that by *Endeavour* in the Oath to change Church-Govern- " ment, was meant only *Unlawful Endeavour*. Upon which Dr. *Bates* and other Non-conformiſts to the Number of 20, took

took it at the Seſſions. And if their Practice may be allow'd to explain what they mean by *Unlawful Endeavour*, it is in their Dialect no more than ſuch an Endeavour as will in all probability be *Unſucceſsful*. He further tells us, that " tho' Ib. p. 538.
" many of the Miniſters who were ejected had not taken the
" *Covenant*, and more of them were againſt impoſing it, yet they
" could not yield to a Renunciation. For " every Mans en-
" deavouring in his Proper place and Sphere to *alter Church-*
" *Government*, as far as he was convinc'd of its being faulty,
" appear'd to them a *Matter of Duty*. And whether to ſhew his Reſpect to Crown'd Heads, or to remind thoſe Men of their Duty, who took the Covenant, if there be any of them now alive, he goes on to tell us, " That they durſt not run Ib. p. 512.
" the hazard of tempting the King himſelf, and thouſands of
" his Subjects in the three Kingdoms, to incur the Guilt of
" *Perjury*; or of hardning them under that Guilt, by decla-
" ring they were no way oblig'd by Covenanting, what could
" not be made appear to be Unlawful. As for the Laity, ſays he, Ib. p. 545.
" ſome of them being Convinc'd of the Juſtice of the Cauſe
" they were engag'd in, *viz. The preſſing a further Reformation in*
" *Eccleſiaſtical Matters, as neceſſary in order to the more general*
" *reaching of the great Ends of Religion*: They thought it their
" Duty in their Place to eſpouſe the ſame Cauſe, and adhere
" to the ſame Principle, in Oppoſition to thoſe who reckon'd
" the Church ſo Perfect as to need no Amendments." And leaſt this ſhould be thought to be only the Opinion of ſuch as believ'd themſelves Obliged by the *Covenant*, Mr. *Calamy* takes care to tell us, " That the Preſent Nonconformiſts riſe Ib. p. 496.
" up in the room of thoſe, who in ſo noble a manner adher'd to
" that old *Puritanical* Principle, of the *Neceſſity of a further Re-*
" *formation in the Church, in order to the more General and Effe-*
" *ctual reaching of the great Ends of Chriſtianity*. Nay even the Occaſional Conformiſts, with all their *harmleſs* and *Friendly ap-proaches to the Church*, keep their *Stated* Communion with Diſ-ſenters to ſhew (if we will believe Mr. *Calamy*) " their firm Ib. p. 555.
" adherence to their Fundamental Principles, —— of purſuing
" in their reſpective Places and Spheres a further Reformation,
" than has as yet been reach'd among us in order to a happy
" Settlement, *&c.* All which is ſo plain that it needs no Comment, every Reader, tho' he be but an indifferent Scho-lar, being able if he pleaſes to ſpell out their meaning.

To wind up all: I think it is pretty evident from the Premiſes, that if Conſcience only were concern'd, the Controverſy would ſoon be at an end, between the Church and the Diſſenters. But Conſcience, whether a pretence to the Tenderneſs of our own, or a Tenderneſs of our Neighbours, is too frequently nothing elſe but a Stale to our ſecular Purpoſes. And thoſe good Laws and Cuſtoms, or Generous Aims which Honeſt and Underſtanding Men give up, either becauſe they ſeem at preſent of no great Conſequence, or at leaſt, of leſs conſequence than that Peace and good Agreement, or other neceſſary matters which they think to purchaſe by theſe Conceſſions, to Men of Artifice and Management, of more Firmneſs but leſs Integrity, and who therefore uſually carry their Point. Theſe Conceſſions I ſay, are of worſe Conſequence than is eaſily imagin'd; for that is loſt by a fatal Eaſineſs, which could never have been wreſted from us, by an open oppoſition, and we are trickt out of that which we would never have parted with directly and plainly. Alterations indeed could never be compaſs'd, did Men declare themſelves at firſt; for beſides that Innovations are ſeldom for the better, wiſe and good Men had rather bear ſome known Inconveniencies, than run the hazard of Greater by a Change, which uſually brings ſuch as no humane Prudence could foreſee or provide againſt.

See *my Lord* Clarendon's *Hiſt.* V. 1. B. 3. p. 184, *&c. alſo* Ibid p. 20. & p. 219. & p. 222.

The way then for cunning Men to bring about a Change, is, not by appearing open Enemies, but by being falſe Friends to an Eſtabliſhment. They profeſs to have the ſame ends with its moſt zealous Champions, only they make uſe of different Means; they do not openly and directly Oppoſe the Meaſures of the other, only they take care to render them Ineffectual; they do not diſcover their aim till the buſineſs is ripe and they are ſure of it, they only hinder your placing ſuch Fences about what they mean to overthrow, as might prevent their purpoſes; and they weaken the Eſtabliſhment by Fetches peculiar to themſelves. For when upon certain views and plauſible pretences they have introduc'd a Novelty, they know how to improve it to their advantage, and when time ſhall come to give it new Views and to draw from it Inferences that were never intended; too many Inſtances of which you have in that excellent Hiſtory ſo often mention'd.

See *L.* Clarendon Vol. 1. p. 164. Ib. p. 198, 199. & 213.

To give a freſher Inſtance, It is not to be ſuppos'd, that when the *Toleration Act* was paſt, any true Member of the Church of *England* intended by that to acquit the Diſſenters of the Guilt of

of Schiſm. For Schiſm as ſuch, being an Offence againſt the Doctrine and Church of Chriſt, does not come under the Cognizance of Lay-Men, but of Eccleſiaſticks. And one may as well affirm than Theft were no Sin if the Law of the Land allow'd it, as that, Seperation from the Church is not Schiſm, becauſe it is Tolerated.

If then ſo ill a uſe is made of the *Church of Englands* Charity towards Diſſenters in granting them a Toleration ſo freely and ſo kindly, as either to infer from thence, that ſhe *holds them not guilty of Schiſm*; or elſe to improve this Act of Grace into *a heavy Charge upon* her, as *Tolerating Schiſm by Law*, 'tis high time that ſhe ſhould look about her. Another ſuch ſtretch might name the Toleration the Eſtabliſhment, and render her own Eſtabliſhment precarious. Eſpecially ſince others as well as Occaſional Conformiſts are pleas'd to make the going to a Church or to a Meeting a matter of Indifferency. For a Man *may go to a Meeting without breach of any Law* of the Land, *whilſt the Act of Toleration continues*; and according to them, without any offence againſt the Laws of GOD, ſince they cannot think the *Diſſenters can properly be call'd Schiſmaticks*, becauſe " tho' connivance has been us'd to Schiſmaticks, yet Publick allowance " was never given to ſuch.

But with ſubmiſſion, tho' this Practice is Tolerated by Law, yet it is not ſuch a harmleſs and indifferent thing to go to a Meeting, as ſome would repreſent it. For if the Separation be evil in it ſelf, it remains an Evil notwithſtanding the Toleration: all that this can do, being no more than the taking off that Penalty which the Penal Laws did inflict. And that the Separation is *Evil in it ſelf* is but a natural and neceſſary Conſequence from what the Lords were pleas'd to ſay when they told us, " That they do not go about to Juſtify Men, who can " come ſo far towards Uniting with the Church, and yet will " ſtop there, any more than they do to Juſtify any other of " the Points upon which the Diſſenters continue their Separation. For if the Separation be not *Evil in it ſelf*, if it is no offence againſt the Laws of GOD, or the Laws of the Land, if it is neither Schiſm in the Church, nor Sedition in the State; it might very well be Juſtify'd, ſince an Action becomes unjuſtifiable only by being *an Evil.* And tho' 'tis allowed that no Government truly Chriſtian will Proſecute any Man, meerly for Conſcience ſake, for this were properly Perſecution; and that Chriſtian Governours, eſpecially thoſe of the Church

See *their Proceed.* P. 39.

of *England*, have all that Charity and Tenderneſs for the Ignorant and miſlead that our holy Religion requires; yet on the other hand, they are far from Eſtabliſhing Error or Iniquity by Law, or from giving them Publick Allowance.

A Toleration then, when paſt into a Law, means no more than a *Legal Connivance* or Indulgence. For the moſt honourable the Lords make a great and juſt diſtinction between Legal *allow'd* Aſſemblies, and ſuch as are *only Tolerated*, or as their Lordſhips expreſs it, *have an impunity by Law*. As is plain from the very Title of the Act, which is, *An Act for Exempting their Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects Diſſenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws.* So that all the Difference the Toleration Act makes is no more than this, the *Connivance* or *Impunity* was only *Voluntary* before, now it is *Neceſſary*, formerly it was *Contrary to* or at leaſt *Beſides* the Law, now it is *By Law*. A Law that takes off the Penalty, but does not in any manner allow the Error or the Schiſm, For ſuch an Allowance no honeſt Man can grant, and the taking off the Penalty, no Church of *England*-Man will oppoſe.

In their Proceedings p. 34. 80.

Let Diſſenters then enjoy their Toleration, as fully and freely as their hearts can wiſh, but for their ſakes as well as for our own, let us not give them Power and Opportunity to deſtroy the Eſtabliſhment? All Diſſenters of what kind ſoever, come under one of theſe Two Denominations; (1.) Such as Diſſent purely for Conſcience ſake, and theſe are the Weak, the Ignorant, and the miſled. Every Church-Man at leaſt muſt grant, that they Diſſent out of Weakneſs and Ignorance, otherwiſe he ought to go over to them. (2.) The other ſort are ſuch as have little or no Conſcience, tho' they make mighty pretences to it, but liſt themſelves with a Party as is moſt agreeable to their Humours, their Paſſions, or ſecular Deſigns. And theſe are the Managers, the Leading-Men, who keep up the Separation, and lead the other as they think fit.

Now tho' one has a true Compaſſion for the Former, and would allow them all the eaſe that can be given, yet certainly the Latter deſerve no Indulgence, much leſs Encouragement; ſince their own Private Ends and the Diſturbance of their honeſt Neighbour, is all their Conſcience and all their Buſineſs. Theſe are the Men who *enflame* Peoples Minds, and *ſet an Edge on their Spirits*, with Fears and Jealouſies, Feuds and Animoſities; who hinder Piety, and deſtroy Charity, diverting that Zeal which ought to be employed in the Reformation of

of our Lives, to the Support of that Party which we happen to be engag'd in, ſo that one can't but have a juſt Indignation againſt them.

And for what End and Purpoſe is all this ado? for what do they Rent the Church of Chriſt, and tear the Bowels of their Country by inteſtine Broils? for what but to advance themſelves, to gratify their Paſſions and their Vices! The People never get by Diviſions and Revolutions, they loſe their Peace and Quiet, their Money is exhauſted in Taxes, and their Blood in War, only to raiſe a few *New Men*, and that the cunning Folks who manage all, may make their Markets. So that all their goodly Pretences of Redreſs of Grievances, and their buſtle about Liberty and Property, have no other meaning, no other Concluſion, but their Own Advancement.

Hence it comes to be too Juſt an Obſervation, that when Men have talk'd themſelves into Preferment, or into Hopes of it, their Zeal cools, and they are no longer thoſe watchful Patriots they were before. They begin to diſcern that it is not *ſeaſonable* to puſh thoſe Matters which were once ſo *Neceſſary*. And tho' you may be ſure they have ſtill the ſame ſincere deſire of the Publick Good, who can doubt it! yet very prudently they think it convenient to reſerve their Vigour for a fitter Opportunity. For Self-Intereſt like Hunger is always pungent, we can't be at reſt till it is ſatisfy'd, and then we can eaſily compoſe our ſelves to Sleep or Quietneſs. For who that has made a Plentiful Meal, and hopes for a good Digeſtion, would rouſe himſelf out of a pleaſing Slumber with a Doſe of *Carduus?*

The truth is, as he can be no Friend to a Prince, who fills his Head with Projects of Arbitrary Power, and carries him beyond thoſe bounds the Laws have ſet him; for whether or no the People *ought* to Reſiſt in ſuch a Caſe, yet to be ſure they *will:* So on the other ſide, he is no true Patriot who would inveſt the People with a Power they know not how to manage, teaching them to Mate their Superiors, and by withdrawing their neceſſary Subjection from their Lawful Prince, certainly tho' ſlily, and under the ſpecious name of Liberty, enſlaves them to a few Seditious Demagogues, and Popular Haranguers.

Nor is this Diſtinction between *Diſſenters in Conſcience*, and *Diſſenters in Faction* a New Fancy or of my Invention, 'tis as old as Queen *Elizabeth*, whoſe Faithful Secretary Sr. *Francis Walſing-*

Walſingham, juſtifying the Proceedings of his Miſtreſs in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, tells us, " That as ſhe dealt tenderly with " Conſcience and did not attempt to force it; ſo when Con- " ſcience exceeds its bounds, and grows to be Faction, it " loſes its Nature; and Sovereign Princes ought to Puniſh " ſuch Practices, tho' colour'd with Pretence of Conſcience " and Religion. Tenderneſs and Gentle Meaſures I own are the beſt ways of treating Conſcience, but when theſe are ineffectual, 'tis a plain caſe to me that Conſcience has little or nothing to do, in the Controverſy. This was that wiſe and good Prince Queen *Elizabeth*'s Concluſion, as we learn from the above mention'd Letter, this " compell'd her to hold " ſomewhat a harder hand upon them than before. For as another great Man in her Succeſſor's Reign obſerves, " a little " Countenance or Connivency ſets the Generation of Se- " ctaries on Fire.

In a Letter to Monſ. Critoy *the* French *Secretary, which is worth the reading. It is in the* Cabala, p. 372. *Edit.* 3.

Lord Verulam. Letter *to Sir* Geo. Villars. Cabala, *p.* 39.

Thus King *Charles* I. was ſo far from winning upon them, or obtaining any of his aims, tho' ever ſo juſt and generous, by Condeſcenſions to that Party, or by putting them into Places of Power and Truſt, that notwithſtanding the Removes he made in their Favour, they kept no Promiſes with him, no not ſo much as in ſaving the Earl of *Strafford*'s Life, tho' for the Eaſe and Quiet of his Majeſty's Conſcience. So that inſtead of appeaſing and gaining them by Gentleneſs and Compliance, and by admiting them to Preferment, he only weakned his own hands, confirmed their Power, (*a*) diſpirited his Friends, (*b*) loſt the benefit of his Council, (*c*) the diſpoſal of his Revenue, (*d*) and indeed his very Subſiſtence, the Principal Jewels of his Crown, then his Kingdom, and at laſt his Life. Nor had his Condeſcenſions towards the *Scots* any better effect than with the *Engliſh*, for they only *rais'd their Inſolence*, as the Noble Hiſtorian tells us, " all his Offers were re- " jected, his Proclamations of Pardon ſlighted and contemn'd; " till at laſt (when it was indeed too late, unleſs it had been " more vigorouſly purſu'd) the King thought it time to re- " ſort to other Counſels, and to provide Force to Chaſtiſe " them, who had ſo much deſpis'd all his gentler Remedies. For tho' Generous Natures may be won with good uſage, yet baſe ones, and ſuch are all Rebellious and Seditious Spirits, are only enabled to do greater Miſchief. It is with them, as it was with the Earl of *Argyle*, who having every day new Obligations heap'd on him by being made a Privy-Councellor, and put

L. Clarend. *p.* 155.

Ib. p. 167.

Ib. p. 156, 157.

(*a*) Ld. Clarend. *Hiſt.* V. 1. B. 1. p. 166.
(*b*) Ib. p. 155.
(*c*) *Ib.* p. 164.
(*d*) *Ib.* p. 165.

Ib. p. 90.

Ib. p. 92. l. 43. *&c.*

Ib. p. 102.

put into other Offices, had *thereby Power given him to do Hurt*, inſtead of being *Reſtrain'd from doing it*.

Indeed ſo far is the *gradual* and *obliging* way from being the beſt, that it has always been found by Experience to be the leaſt *ſafe* and the leaſt to be *depended* on. For as my Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, it only gives " the Diſcontented Party " more Heart, and more Time for their Seditious Negotia- " tions: enables them to enter into a cloſer Correſpondence " among themſelves, gains them Credit and Power over the " People at Home and Intereſt with Foreigners. Ib. p. 87. Ib. p. 101.

Far be it from me to plead for harſh and violent Methods, I would not have us do to them as they have done to us, the Church of *England*, GOD he thanked, knows what Spirit ſhe is of, and is far from that Vindictive Temper. But ſince they have ways which we cannot, dare not uſe; for as one of them tells the Men who were then in Power " You cannot Preach, or Pray them [the Church of *England*] down directly and immediately. —— Well! That which the *Word* cannot do the *Sword* ſhall; tho' we doubt not but that the *Church* is *well ſecur'd by her Doctrine, the good Laws of the Realm, the Protection of a Pious Queen*, and the favour of *a Well-affected Parliament*; Yet it would be a Weakneſs not to be forgiven, did we neglect to improve this Happy Opportunity, to ſecure the Eſtabliſhment, not only from open Enemies, but from ſecret Underminers. We do not mean to hurt them, but it is highly neceſſary, to put it out of their Power to hurt us, both for their ſakes and our Own; if we are ſtill ſo eaſy and ſupine, as to neglect the neceſſary Meaſures for our own Security, our Ruin will be owing to our ſelves, and we ſhall not only be the Objects of their Hatred, but of their Contempt and Scorn. Reyner *to the Commons*, Aug. 28, 1644. p. 12.

Were *Non-Conformity* only a Matter of Conſcience, and were there not ſomething elſe at the Bottom under the Specious Appearance of Conſcience, I agree with our Author, that " *Occaſional Conformity* would be an Advantage to the Church " and Weaken the Diſſenters. For the People would diſcern by coming to our Worſhip, that there are none of thoſe Bugbears in it with which they us'd to be frighted from it. The Solidity and Piety, the Grave and Affecting Expreſſions of our Liturgy; the Rational, Uſeful, and Moving Eloquence of our Preachers; would ſoon prevail over the incoherent, irreverent Rapſodies of their *Ex tempore* Effuſions, the Mean, Childiſh *Moderation a Vertue*, p. 27.

Childiſh and ill-conſider'd Harangues, for which they have been, and are ſtill, ſo famous. But alas! Secular Intereſt and Party being the great Wheel that puts the Separation in Motion, *Occaſional Conformity* ſerves only to make ſome People indifferent to, and careleſs in all Religions; and is made uſe of by others to Act the Part of an Enemy under the Diſguiſe of a Friend. And all the Real Advantages the Church enjoys, do not ſo much contribute to her Security, as thoſe *little Accidents* and *ſmall Circumſtances* which ſome would perſuade us to neglect, do to her Ruin, when manag'd *by the Art and Induſtry of theſe Men*, who knew how to make *the Greateſt Matters towards the Confuſions we* formerly *labour'd under*, *flow from* theſe ſmall Beginnings, and who ſeem but too much enclin'd to give us new Trials of their Skill.

My Lord Clarend. V. 1. B. 3. p. 192.

I do not pretend that all who contribute to the Deſigns of a Party, are of that Party, or intend in any Meaſure to promote thoſe Miſchiefs, which are indeed the Conſequences of their Actions and Compliances. 'Tis very evident from my Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, that very few, not above half a dozen, were at firſt let into that Myſtery of Iniquity, which gave the moſt fatal Blow to the Nation that ever it felt. For Humane Infirmity too often draws the Greateſt, the Wiſeſt, and the Beſt of Mankind, from the ſtrict Rules of Right Reaſon. Few Men, eſpecially in Proſperity and Power, who find other Entertainments, examine their Actions, with the direct and neceſſary Conſequences of them ſo exactly, as the weight of the Matter requires. Some are Young, ſome have too great an Opinion of other Mens Sufficiency, and others are too full of their Own. Many are prepoſſeſs'd with Prejudices ſo artfully inſinuated, that to get clear of them requires not only a great Diſtruſt of ſuch as they have formerly had in admiration, but even of themſelves, which Mankind is not prone to. Moſt Men have Paſſions which they too much Indulge, and hereby ſome weak ſide or other whereby they may be won. And ſo in the Integrity of their Hearts, be led into ſuch Meaſures by Artful and Deſigning Men, as neceſſarily produce what they themſelves never intended, what it may be they abhor, and will be the firſt that ſhall Repent of.

Lord Claren. p. 146. Ib. p. 148.

Had any Man gone to any of thoſe Noble Lords, who were ſo unhappily engag'd in that great Rebellion againſt King *Charles* I. at the Beginning of the Long Parliament, and told them with all poſſible Reſpect, " My Lord, though your wor-

" thy

" thy Zeal for the Publick Good, Your Antient Rights and " Privileges and the Liberties of *Engliſh-men*, be highly Com- " mendable, yet pardon me if I preſume to re-mind you, that " it may tranſport too far; and unleſs the known Boundaries " be ſtrictly kept, you may overthrow what you intend to " preſerve, ſtruggles for Power between any Parts of the " Conſtitution, ſeldom end but in the Deſtruction of the " whole. You do not ſo much as Suſpect, becauſe Your own " Noble Heart is not capable of thoſe vile Deſigns, which " the Cunning Men, the Managers, keep to themſelves and " varniſh over with the moſt ſpecious Pretences. You have " no Aims but what are truly Honourable, but thoſe who " gain ground by your Countenance and Authority mean no- " thing leſs. If you continue them, they will e're long be " able to ſupport themſelves without you, and grow too big " for the Power that rais'd them. The Mask will then fall " off, and you will too late diſcover thoſe Miſchiefs to " which you have undeſignedly contributed, and which you " will not then be able to prevent or remedy. Your Honour " and Integrity will never permit you to go intirely into " their Meaſures, but if you then draw back, they will have " as little Conſideration of your Perſonal Merit and former " Favours, as they have of any of their preſent Oppoſers; " Nay, they will hate you more, for having as they think de- " ſerted them. You will at beſt, be laid aſide as of no fur- " ther Uſe, and all thoſe Glorious Ends you propos'd to your " ſelf will be laid in the Duſt; and which will be the moſt " grievous Reflection, by your own Means, you your ſelf " will have had the greateſt hand in their Deſtruction. For " GOD's ſake then, conſider this frank Advice of a Plain, " but honeſt Remembrancer. Rouſe your *Own* Noble Spirit, " exerciſe your *Own* Good Senſe, and be not Influenc'd by " the Plauſible Harangues, nor wrought upon by the Artifices " and ſecret Whiſpers of the Men in Faſhion. Maintain the " Conſtitution Inviolate, obſtruct no Meaſures that are taken " for its Security, Guard it againſt the remoteſt Dangers, for " in its Security, and in this only, you will find your own.

Thus they us'd my Lord Digby, *ſee my Lord* Clarend. *Hiſtory* Vol. 1. B. 3. *p.* 182.

Should any Man, I ſay, have made ſuch a Diſcourſe as this to my Lord *Eſſex*, and the other Men of Quality who went into his Meaſures, how would they have receiv'd it? 'Tis like as that Lord did the then Mr. *Hide*'s Diſcourſe, and put it off to another time. Or had they been plainly told that the Me-

Ib. p. 197.

thods they took would certainly produce the Deſtruction both of Church and State, and the Murder of their Sovereign, would they not do you think have anſwered with the utmoſt Indignation as *Hazael* did to the Prophet, *Is thy Servant a Dog, that he ſhould do this great thing*? tho' tis very remarkable that this ſame *Hazael* did thoſe very things, of which he ſeem'd to have ſuch an Abhorrence. So little Reaſon have Men to be confident of their beſt Intentions, or to give way to the Beginnings of Faction and Sedition, to the very Approaches towards them, or to the very Appearances of Evil, leſt they be Inſenſibly led on to the greateſt Crimes.

2 Kings 8. 13.

Since therefore the moſt Honourable the Lords have been pleaſed to let us know, that they "look on the fixing of "Qualifications for Places of Truſt, to be a thing ſo entirely "lodg'd with the Legiſlature, that without giving any Reaſon "for it, upon any Apprehenſion of Danger, how remote ſo-"ever, every Government may put ſuch Rules, Reſtraints, "or Conditions, on all who Serve in Places of Truſt, as they "ſhall ſee Cauſe. That where the Security of the Govern-"ment does appear to be Manifeſtly concern'd, their Lord-"ſhips can ſatisfie themſelves to Diſpenſe with Private Con-"ſiderations. That they not only allow the Neceſſity of an "Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and a National Church, but being "likewiſe of that National Church, they can never be want-"ing to thoſe Meaſures they think proper to ſecure it". And ſince we are alſo told by the Honourable the Commons, that, "the only effectual way to preſerve this National Church, "is by keeping the Civil Power in the hands of thoſe whoſe "Practices and Principles are Conformable to it. That how "unhappy ſoever his Condition may be who is made uncapable "of Serving his Prince and Country; our Prince and Country "would be in a more unhappy Condition to be Serv'd by "ſuch, whoſe Principles are inconſiſtent with the Good and "Welfare of our Eſtabliſhment. And that therefore the Bill "againſt *Occaſional Conformity* appears to them abſolutely ne-"ceſſary for the preventing thoſe Miſchiefs which muſt prove "deſtructive to the Church and the Monarchy: We promiſe our ſelves that without any Diſputes about the Means, both Houſes will unanimouſly agree in obtaining ſo good and ſo neceſſary an End; an *End which is deſign'd by both.*

See their Proceedings. p. 31. 8vo.

Ib. p. 39.

Ib. p. 29.

Ib. p. 23.

Ib. p. 26.

Ib. p. 23.

Ib. p. 29.

Our Author therefore deceives himſelf if he thinks his Poſitions are any way ſupported by ſo great an Authority as he ſometimes

Moderation a Vertue, p. 24, 30.

ſometimes thinks fit to cite. And that Incapacity which would keep them from hurting the Government under pretence of ſerving it, and which is the thing that Allarms them moſt, can't properly be call'd a hardſhip on Diſſenters, but a neceſſary Security to the Government. It inflicts nothing new, it only declares, that Men whoſe Principles are inconſiſtent with the Government, and whoſe Practices have ever been deſtructive of it (as I hope has been ſufficiently prov'd) have hereby put themſelves under an utter incapacity of Serving it. So that all the Incapacity that Bill would have brought upon them, was only a Publick and Legal Declaration of that Secret, and therefore very dangerous Incapacity they had brought upon themſelves, ſo oppoſite to the welfare of the People, which they themſelves have ſo often told us is the Supreme Law, and conſequently all private Conſiderations ought to give it place. But beſides this, tho' it is of ſuch weight that no other Conſideration can raiſe the Scale againſt it; the hardſhip on Particulars if there be any, is very inconſiderable. For as the Lords obſerve, it can "never be thought that thoſe of the better ſort "will be guilty of the Offence," as better ſort may reſpect either Principles or Circumſtance; and for the reſt they are not to be nam'd with the leaſt appearance of Publick good. *Proceedings*, p. 27.

But how kind ſoever we may be to them in all other Reſpects, the keeping them out of Place will be reckon'd an intolerable Perſecution; as is plain from their Diſcourſes upon the matter. Thus we may obſerve that as one conſiderable part of our Author's Book is taken up in an invidious Reflection upon Church-Men; ſo the greateſt part of it is ſpent in giving us Examples of *Diſſenters from the Eſtabliſh'd Religion that have been employ'd in moſt Nations and Governments.* And when he has accounted for the Examples we have brought him, it will then be time enough to examine his.

Only by the way, there's a very good reaſon why the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Churches, whom our Author calls Diſſenters from Pagan Eſtabliſhments, might with very great ſafety be employ'd by thoſe Governments, and which I doubt will not hold as to Modern Diſſenters. The Doctrine and Practice of both theſe Churches was ſtrictly Loyal and Obedient, to the utmoſt rigour, nay even to a fault, in their opinions at leaſt, who oppoſe the of late ſo much decry'd and ridicul'd Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Opinion or Practice of the Chriſtian Church in this Caſe, he may pleaſe

to consult that Apology of *Tertullian* which he himself cites for it.

I shall only take notice of so eminent an Instance of Non-Resistance, recorded in Sacred Story, that we need not search in other Histories for Examples and Precedents, and it is that of the Jewish Church under *Ahasuerus*: For when their utter
Esther 3. 6. &c, destruction was contriv'd, and that only by the private pique and malice of a Subject, who most notoriously abus'd the Royal Authority, making it a cover to destroy the King's most faithful and useful Sujects; What do these *Jews* do? how do they defend themselves? alas! poor Men, only by Fasting and
& 7. 4.
Esth. 4. 3, &c. Prayer, and Prudential endeavours to get this unjust Decree revers'd. Not that they wanted either Hearts or Hands to
— 8. 11, 13. & 9. 5, Defend themselves, as evidently appears from the Vigorous defence they made assoon as they had Lawful Authority on their side, to the utter destruction of their Enemies.

Yet *Haman*'s Order was an unjust Decree, and surreptitiously obtain'd; it had the Colour of Law, but was as much against the End and Design of the Law, as any thing can be. And no Argument that can be alledg'd for Resistance, but is as good in this as in any other Case whatever. The *Jews* had as much Power and as much Reason, as any People who have not the Supreme Authority on their Side can pretend to.
Esth. 2. 22, &c. But *Mordecai* it seems was an obedient Slave, he was not for Plots and Combinations of any sort, but as he had discover'd those of the King's Door-keepers, who sought to seize their Master, so he did not care for entring upon any Rebellion himself, lest he should not appear an Enemy to Treason in General and for Conscience sake, but only to some particular Treasons that were not to his own Advantage. But this only *en passant*, and since it was so many hundred Years ago, no doubt Men have learn'd more wit by this time, and so the Precedent is not like to do much mischief.

As for the *Non-jurors*, those terrible Men, especially if they stand to their Principles, and stick close to Non-Resistance, as formidable as our Author would represent them, they can do us no Mischief, unless by assisting the Dissenters, to whom they are become very serviceable!

For such is the Felicity of our Constitution that we can't be hurt if we are true to our selves. There is no security indeed without a Miracle, which we have no reason to expect, against the Pusillanimity and Treachery of weak and false

Bre-

Brethren. Our Enemies can't wreſt our Religion and Liberties from us, but they may wheedle and trick us out of them, if we will be ſo fooliſh and ſupine as to ſuffer them to play the Old, and one would think, by this time ſo often detected, Game once more.

The cry was formerly down-right Popery, and this being the moſt plauſible Topick with the Mob, even with *the Great Vulgar* as well as *the Small*, muſt not be quite laid aſide. But it is a little out of Countenance ſince that noble Defence of the Truth againſt Popery, that was made by the Church of *England*, at a time when the Diſſenters comply'd with, and ſerv'd the Papiſts, which ſure they can't think our Memories are ſo ſhort as to forget. A time when they accepted Offices and Preferments from a Popiſh Miniſtry, even without thoſe *Legal Qualifications for Publick Offices*, which they now make no ſcruple to Conform to upon Occaſion; and by no better Authority, than the Diſpenſing Power. And therefore the Charge of Popery muſt be a little qualify'd and diſguis'd, and the People are now amus'd with the *Non-Jurants*, who are ſaid to be " the moſt dangerous Enemies of the *Engliſh* Na- " tion, and the only People that *can effectually ruin the Church*; Men who have been always deſpis'd as an inconſiderable handful, and whom they would not think worth their Notice, were it not to make a Bug-bear of them.

Mod. a Vert. p. 14.

Ib. p. 25.

For as it was the uſual Maxim and Practice of thoſe *harmleſs Diſſenters* and *Occaſional Conformiſts*, who brought their Sovereign to the Block, and with him deſtroy'd both Church and State, ſo is it of all their Succeſſors; *to call every Man they do not Love, Papiſt, and under this ſenſeleſs appellation* to *create them Troubles and Vexations.* And to go on with my Lord *Clarendon*'s words, " according to the Ingenuity they always " Practiſe, to advance any of their Pretences, they are ve- " ry ſolicitous to have the People believe, that they who " don't come into all their Opinions, intend to introduce " Popery.

My Lord Clarend. V. 1. B. 1. p. 70.

Ib. p. 72.

Tho' at that very time that the *Scots* carried all before them by their pretended Fears of Popery, Cardinal *Richlieu* kept his Agent among them to *cheriſh and foment their unpeaceable Inclinations.* And thoſe true Proteſtant and Faithful Patriots, who falſly accus'd their Sovereign and his Miniſters of intending to bring in a Foreign Power, writ a Letter to the *French* King, directed *au Roy*, as if he had been their Natural King, deſiring

Ib. p. 100.

Ib. p. 103.

Ib. p. 228. desiring his *Protection and Assistance.* Even *Pryn* himself that great Enemy to Popery, (if you will believe him) was well enough content to receive 5000 *l.* from the *French* Minister, for the good Service he perform'd to the Dishonour of his King, and the Disservice of his Country. Nor did he and Ib. p. 169, 170. his Brethren make any Scruple to *receive with great kindness* those *Irish Papists* who came to prosecute the Earl of *Strafford*, and who after the Death of that Great Person, who restrain'd their Bloody Designs, became Principal Actors in the *Irish* Rebellion. So that in Effect, those Pious Dissenters who brought my Lord *Strafford* to the Block, with their Clamours against Popery, and who encourag'd his Enemies, were in reality the Occasion of that Barbarous Massacre, which they had afterwards the Impudence to charge upon the King. And which *Abridgment of Baxter's Life.* P. 44. Mr. *Calamy* in his late Book would insinuate, even at this time of day, that *that* Prince had a hand in.

But what are those *Non-Jurors* they now think to fright us with? Their Number was very inconsiderable at first, and in Fifteen Years, many, if not the most of them no doubt are Dead; or have satisfied themselves, and imitated their Neighbours. Nor has there been any Encouragements or Hopes of Temporal Advantages, which is that which takes with the Bulk of Mankind, to encrease their Party. And sure you will not say they are strengthned by such as were prevail'd on by Necessity, Fear, Example, or any the like Weakness to comply with the late Government and to take Oaths to it, contrary to, or at least without the Approbation of their Consciences, and whose Repentance for this Sin has brought them over to the *Non-Jurors* Party?

Were this the Case, 'twould be a better Argument against the Oaths than against the Men; and a good Reason why we ought to beware how we burden the Consciences of a Nation by multiplying Oaths which can have no other Effect but the keeping out the Honestest and most Conscientious Men, the laying a Snare in the way of the Weak and Less Religious, and the making that Solemn Act of Religious Worship, and most necessary Bond of Civil Government, Contemptible. For the Bad to be sure will swallow any thing, the only way to be secure of them is to keep them out of Office; for no Oaths nor Obligations can defend us from their evil Designs, when by getting into Power they have found an Opportunity to do Mischief. And as the Lords very piously observe, " this

" this Nation has been Groaning long under *False Swearing* " that has been in every Corner, *all Sides* have had their " Share of it, till GOD pours out another Spirit upon us.

See their Proceedings, p. 35, &c.

But whatever the Number of the *Non-Jurors* may be, 'tis plain the Dissenters would have them continue *Non-Jurors*, so little do they desire the Unity and Loyalty of her Majesty's Subjects: Because as they would have it, the Government standing on the same Foundation that it did the last Fifteen Years, he who could not approve of King *William*'s Government can't be a good Subject to her present Majesty.

Now in return to this some are pleas'd to tell them, that this Arguing proves nothing but their Disaffection to her Majesty; since those Conscientious Gentlemen who thought themselves oblig'd to keep the Oath they had taken to their once Lawful Sovereign, may very Reasonably, and according to their own Principles, upon his Decease, continue their Allegiance to that Heir of his whom they find Legally and Peaceably possess'd of Her Father's Throne. Nor are they by their Principles under any Obligation to start Difficulties and to set up Titles, which to make the utmost Concession, and supposing them ever so good, can be of no Force unless they were Legally Claim'd and Prov'd. Nor can the most scrupulous Assertor of the Hereditary Line, start any Difficulties in our present Case, which would not have been greater in Queen *Mary*'s and Queen *Elizabeth*'s. For if one of these Queens was the Lineal Successor, to be sure the other was not, and yet we do not find that in either of their Reigns, there was any Dispute by Men of the strictest Principles about this Matter.

The Truth is, Dissenters and their Friends do all that they can to keep honest Consciencious Men out of her Majesty's Service, for they know very well that those who have a Reverence for Oaths, taking none but what they mean to keep, and a due Sense of Allegiance, believing themselves bound to preserve it at any hazards, will be stedfast Friends to Her Royal Person and Government, and Active in their Defence; for *Conscience sake*, as well as because they are well assur'd, She will require no more of them than the Laws enjoyn.

Those indeed *who break the Law praise the Wicked*, as the Wise Man tells us, whereas such *as keep the Law, contend with them*, and therefore ill Men hate the Good, whose Vertues reproach their Vices. But Generous Spirits have always had a great Regard to Fidelity even in their Enemies, and by noble

Usage

La vie de Caſſiodore par St. Marthe, L. 1. C. 2. S. 41

Uſage have won their Friendſhip. Thus *Theodoric* a Great and Wiſe Prince, not only accepts but invites and importunes the Service of thoſe who had ſhewn the greateſt Conſtancy and Faithfulneſs to *Odoacer* whom he conquer'd, and gives very good Reaſons for it, as you may ſee in *Caſſidore*; * For he knew very well that ſuch as have ſhewn the greateſt Loyalty towards their *Old* Maſters, are the fitteſt to be truſted by the *New*: Whereas Men of Unſteady Principles and Perfidious Practices, are true to no body any further than it ſerves their own turn. And tho' they may be *Us'd* upon Occaſion, they can never be *Valued* or *Relied* on, no not by thoſe ill Men who corrupted them.

* See p. 118.

The Expreſſions that *Theodoric* makes uſe of on that Occaſion, are ſo handſom and ſo becoming a Generous Prince, that I can't but tranſcribe them. " You remember (ſays he in his Epiſtle to the Senate when he made *Liberius Præfect Prætorium*) " the Patrician *Liberius*, who has recommended himſelf to us by oppoſing us. His Fidelity, his inviolable Tye to the Service of *Odoacer* makes us judge him moſt worthy of our Friendſhip, after he has done ſo many things againſt us as our Enemy. We have not ſeen him reduc'd to the vile Condition of a Deſerter, throwing himſelf into our Party. He feign'd no Diſcontent againſt his firſt Maſter to procure him the Favour of a ſecond. Firm and Conſtant in his Duty, he waited the Deciſive Judgment of GOD, and never conſented to acknowledge a New Prince till he had loſt the firſt.

" This is it which makes us think him worthy of this Recompence. The greatneſs of his Soul ſhone when his King gave way and was diſcourag'd, no Terrors could abaſe, or bend, or ſhake him. He ſaw and ſuſtain'd without Emotion the Fall of his Prince. A new Reign which made the fierceſt Nations tremble, was not capable of troubling him, he expos'd himſelf to all Accidents. — " Theſe are the Proofs of the Fidelity of this Great Man, who became the Subject of our Empire with much Regret, and his Party being reduc'd, he chang'd indeed his Sentiments towards, us, but without being vanquiſhed.

And as for Perſecution, which Diſſenters ſeem ſo much afraid of; Perſecution which tho' it might be Courted in the Nonage of the Church, Chriſtians are not ſo fond of, now they are come to Years of Diſcretion, and have been new Model'd

Model'd by the *exacter Diſcipline of Diſſenting Congregations*: There are a ſort of unlucky People who have ſtarted a Query, whether the forcing Men either to quit their Livelihoods and ſend their Families a ſtarving, which moſt People now a-days believe to be the Caſe, when they have nothing but GOD's Providence to Truſt to, and He has not thought fit to put a few Effects in their hands for their Security. Whether, as I ſaid, the forcing them to this, or elſe to ſwallow Oaths that were notoriouſly known to be contrary to their avow'd Principles, were not a Grievous Perſecution, a Snare to ruin Souls, and a deſtroying that awful Veneration that is due to Oaths? Not that one pretends to excuſe that Man, who will upon any Account whatſoever, even Loſs of Livelihood or Life it ſelf, Violate his Conſcience. But ſure they are not free from Guilt who lay the Stumbling Block in his way, and violently Tempt him to it. *Offences* we know *muſt needs come, but Woe to that Man by whom the Offence cometh!*

But letting this paſs, —— What have *Non-Jurors* to do with the Bill about Conformity? Such as remain *Non-Jurors* have no Power to hurt our tender Diſſenter, nor do they ſtand in his way Preferment. And thoſe who have taken the Oaths to her Majeſty, ought no longer to be blaſted with that Name. To be ſure, ſince they were ſo conſcientious as to ſuffer rather than take an Oath, they judg'd Unlawful, now that they have ſworn to Her Majeſty they will never break their Oaths. But ſome hard Word muſt be invented and thrown upon ſome-body, and this of *Non-Juror* is fitteſt to raiſe the Mobb.

The *Innuendo* (if one may be ſo bold as to unveil it) is, that Men in Office and Power, are of the ſame Principles of the Preſent *Non-Jurors*, if there are any ſuch, and miniſter to ſome Deſign, which we are pleas'd to fanſie for them; tho' the poor Men have neither Power to accompliſh, nor if we will believe them, the Will to contrive any. But that *Innuendo* is a Calumny as ridiculous and unreaſonable, as it is groundleſs and without any manner of Proof, ſcarce any Colour, but that which the good Fore-heads of the Inventors give it. Becauſe whatever the Pretended Reaſons of Revolutions may be, the true Reaſon is always the Change of hands; that Party which was neglected endeavouring to get into the Saddle. An Alteration therefore is never like to be attempted by Men who are poſſeſs'd of thoſe Advantages which all contend for. No, 'tis the People out of Office, and who la-

bour with all their Induſtry to be in, allarming all the Nation, when they are in danger of being made *Incapable of ſerving their Queen and Country*, (themſelves they mean) theſe are the Men from whom a Change is to be fear'd.

Moderation a Vertue, P. 14.

Theſe are they who make Commotions and Revolutions under the ſpecious Name of Publick Good; but indeed for nothing elſe but Private Intereſt. So we gather from their Actions; for as for their *affections to Her Majeſty's* Government, we have nothing to ſay to them, we pretend not to know their hearts; only we heartily pray that ſhe may never have Occaſion to try their Affections, or ſtand in need of them.

Could I ſee one of theſe buſy Patriots ſpend himſelf and his Fortune in the Service of his Country, without ſeeking a Preſent Reward: Or if you will, in the more modiſh Dialect, *accepting* it when offer'd, or to raiſe the Scene when *forc'd* on him; that is, after all his Intriguing and Caballing to conjure up this *force*, I ſhould then pay him the Reverence due to a Real Patriot and Hero. The Thankful World I know is pleas'd to ſay, why ſhould a Brave Man be a Loſer by a Nation? Why ſhould they be ſo Ungrateful as not to Acknowledge his Services? But in my poor Opinion, Great Actions ſufficiently proclaim themſelves, and ſhine the more, the leſs they are attended with fulſom Panegyricks. And when a Man's own Private Ends and Advantages, are the viſible and undeniable Conſequences of his Actions, what Beauty and Glory can they Pretend? The Man has his Reward, ſuch as it is, tis what he ſought, why ſhould he pretend to more? and the Hero dwindles into a little Mercenary! The *Romans* who were Men of as much bravery, and as hearty Lovers of their Country as any the World ever produc'd, eſteem'd a Good and Great Action its own Reward. And having little Proſpect of a Future Recompence, were abundantly ſatisfied in the Glory of well-doing; and when our mighty Patriots are arriv'd at this meer Heathen Perfection, I ſhall then believe them truly in the Intereſt of their Country, till then they muſt excuſe me.

But what can be more ridiculous than to ſee Men ſetting up for the *Roman* Love of Liberty without any thing of the *Roman* Virtue! To ſee a bloated luxurious *Epicure* whoſe buſineſs is to gather Wealth rapaciouſly, that he may ſpend it on his Vices, indulging himſelf in all the Softneſs and Debaucheries of a Licentious Age. Who thinks there is no Felicity but in Riches, and no Honour but in making a Figure, as they call

call it, in having a great Equipage and Buſtle about him! To ſee theſe ſet up for Patriots who have nothing of the Temper of the Truly Noble Patriots to pretend to! none of thoſe great Qualities and that Publick Spiritedneſs which was founded on Simplicity of Manners, a Love and Veneration of Honeſt and Magnanimous Poverty, and a Generous Contempt of Riches, and all that they can purchaſe, is a Contradiction! They may be ſuch Patriots indeed, as *Cataline* was, and for the ſame Reaſon, they may deſire to put all in a Flame, that they may catch ſomething to ſupport their Luxuries.

To ſee a Man who pays no body, but feeds upon the ſweat and tears of his poor Creditors, declare for Property! A Man who would have every one conform to his Magiſterial Dictates, cabal for Liberty! He who violates the deareſt Intereſts of his Neighbour, exclaim againſt Arbitrary Power! He who wrongs another's Honour, and robs him of what he values moſt, pretend to ſtickle for the Birthright and Privileges of his Country-Men! A Rake who tranſgreſſes all the Laws, become a Zealous Advocate in their Defence! A Knight of the Toaſt, a Champion for the Reformation againſt the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*! To hear a *Socinian* argue for Articles of Faith, and a *Deiſt* for the Proteſtant Religion! Certainly *Democritus* never met with ſo Comical a Scene as this! It would indeed be extremely Diverting, were the Jeſt receiv'd as it ought to be, and did not the Credit that is given to this Pageant, by too many, render it of dangerous Conſequence to their Country.

If we conſider the *Roman* Publick Spiritedneſs, and from whence they deriv'd the Fame and Grandure of their Empire, we ſhall find their Principles and Practices to be very different from thoſe of our Modern Patriots. They were Famous for their Impartial Juſtice, their good Faith, their Candor, their Gentleman-like Uſage, even of their very Enemies. Their Generous Contempt of Death and Dangers, and of what is more grievous to a Brave Mind, all the Calamities of this wretched Life. Their Vertue was ſo awful that ill Men durſt not offer to Bribe it, and if any thing could provoke them beyond their Temper, it was the ſuppoſing them capable of ſuch a meanneſs.

With us the higheſt Prudence is to know how to make a Fortune, among them the greateſt Wiſdom and Bravery conſiſted in deſpiſing one. They Gloried in ſpending their Money

and even their Lives bountifully, not in preſerving theſe poorly and obtaining the other ſordidly, according to Modern Practice. Nothing made a Man Reputable in their opinion, but Good Senſe, Courage and Conduct, Juſt and Vertuous Actions; We mind not what a Man *is*, but what he *has*; *the poor upright Man is laugh'd to ſcorn*, whilſt *the Rich* tho' ever *ſo fooliſh is had in admiration.* We acknowlege no Merit but a Good Eſtate, and all the Reſpect is given to Money and its Appendages! Indeed ſo prodigious is this Vile Idolatry that is paid to Wealth, that Mens Reaſons are reckon'd good or bad in proportion to their Eſtates; and the Creatures themſelves believe they are Wiſer than their Neighbours, becauſe they are Richer. A Vertuous Poverty, and that Temperance and Modeſty which attends it, was accounted Honourable by the High-Spirited *Romans*, not *naſty* as a certain Modern Patriot terms it. Nothing was more valuable among them, or had in greater Veneration, than a noble bearing up againſt the Inſults of Adverſity, and that true Greatneſs of Mind, which keeps a Man from ſuſtaining it Poorly, or getting rid of it Diſhonourably. But with our worthy Patriots this is Ignorance of the World, 'tis Pride, 'tis Inſolence, and what not. All their endeavours are to depreſs the Generous Mind, and they have their Reaſons; for he who is ſtanch in his Integrity, who Diſpiſes Money as much as they Adore it, will never ſubmit to be their Underſtrapper, nor come in to their Vile Deſigns.

An Emulation, but no Envy of worthy Actions, an Eſteem of Vertuous Poverty and a Contempt of Wealth, were the Foundation of the *Roman* Greatneſs, and are ſo of all Moral Vertues. For he who has many wants, is liable to many Temptations, he who ſeeks his Pleaſures out of himſelf, is not his own Maſter. He who is a Slave to his Appetites, muſt never pretend to ſtand up for his own and his Fellow Citizens Liberties. He is no longer juſt than whilſt he finds no opportunity or Temptations to be unjuſt, and what claim has he to Prudence who is not wiſe for himſelf in his Greateſt Intereſts?

But when a Man can leave his Plough, which is his All, to defend his Country, and after a Glorious Victory, without pretending to any advantages, quietly go home again to boil his Turneps; when he diſdains a Royal Bribe, nay even a Victory, when obtain'd by unhandſome ways; when he Sacrifices his Life, and what is dearer to him, his Reputation for the Com-

Common Welfare, when he freely gives himſelf up to torture rather than break his Faith, or adviſe his Country to its prejudice; as *Cincinnatus*, *Curius Dentatus*, *Fabricius*, *Decius*, *Fabius*, *Regulus*, and other *Roman* Heroes did, he gives undeniable Demonſtration of his Love to the Publick. But for our little Pretenders, who do, or ſeem to do, ſome *little* matter for the Publick, but who take all imaginable care to do *very much* for themſelves, no matter how much to their Country's Prejudice, for theſe to ſet up for Patriots, is Ridiculous beyond expreſſion!

The Noble *Roman* Families acquir'd their Authority and Diſtinction by their own and their Anceſtors Vertues, not by the Wealth they left them. When this became a Diſtinction and the Object of their purſuits, the Common-wealth declin'd, the Empire fell among Tyrants, being ſold by the greedy Soldiers to him who would Bid moſt. And having loſt their Vertue, their very Name was at laſt extinguiſh'd by the Barbarous Nations, who ſo long as they kept themſelves Poor and *Moderate*, either through Choice or Neceſſity, were Maſters of the World, but loſt their Empire with their *Moderation*, or their Contempt of Wealth and all its purchaſes.

And if we make a Step into *Greece*, what reſemblance ſhall we find between the Modern Patriots and the *Phocions*, the *Ariſtides*, the *Themiſtocles*, and *Pericles* of that Country? The Poverty of the Two firſt was as remarkable as it is Glorious, and their oppoſition to the Popular Demagogues. Notwithſtanding all their Great Employments they left no overgrown Eſtates to their Children, nor ſo much as enough to Bury them. The Kings Bribe could not faſten on him who was found with his homely Spouſe dreſſing his own Dinner. Neither could a concern for his Children and Family corrupt him, if they had Vertue he knew it was an ample Patrimony; if they had none, he lov'd his Country too well to leave ill Men a Power to hurt it. *Themiſtocles* tho' he had his Faults, had yet a noble Diſdain of Wealth, leaving Money to thoſe who were not *Themiſtocles*. 'Tis like you'll ſay that *Pericles*'s Fingers were not quite ſo clean, but this is only one Inſtance among many, and itmuſt be allow'd that

In every Clime there's muddy Air,
And Men who to their Mammon dare
Sacrifice Conſcience, when they Interfere.

He

He muſt be an *Ariſtides* indeed, or one whom I ſhall not preſume to name, but leave it to Poſterity to do him Juſtice, who can paſs thro' a Treaſury without a Spot.

I do not affirm that the Diſſenters and their Patrons are the only Men who want the Vertues of a Patriot; or that all the Friends of the Church are Saints and Heroes, would to GOD they were! No, it has always been a Jeſt to me, to ſee Men who allow themſelves in the breach of ſome of GOD's Commands, make a ſcruple of breaking any: to ſee Men of Looſe and Atheiſtical Principles or Unchriſtian Lives, ſet up for great Patrons of Religion, whether in Church or Conventicle. However there's good Reaſon why ſuch as theſe ſhew a Zeal for the Eſtabliſhment; for tho' it be not out of a Religious Principle it may be out of a Political. Eſtabliſhments are a Defence againſt Innovations and Confuſions, which not only deprive Men of the outward Profeſſion and Form of Religion, but which ſticks more with the moſt, entrench on Civil Rights and Properties. So that on this account a Man of Eſtate may be againſt Change and Scambling. Whereas the Neceſſitous are always for Changes and Revolutions, becauſe they have nothing to loſe, and may probably get by't, according as they can ſet forth their Officiouſneſs, and dreſs up their Zeal to the beſt Advantage.

It is therefore a miſchievous weakneſs and fatal miſtake in Men of Eſtates, to be drawn into Parties againſt the Eſtabliſhment. The Laws are their beſt ſecurities, whilſt theſe are Reverenc'd and Supported, thoſe are ſafe. But no body can anſwer for the Event when Conſtitutions are deſtroy'd; to be ſure Men of the largeſt Fortunes are like to be the Greateſt Sufferers.

To come to a Concluſion: Would the Diſſenters have us forget the Great Rebellion and all the diſmal Conſequences of it, many of which affect us to this very day? let them abjure thoſe Principles from whence it proceeded, acknowledge a Conviction of their Falſehood, their pernicious Nature and Evil Effects. Would they have us forget that unprecedented Murder of Her Majeſty's Royal Grand-Father, King *Charles* I. Whoſe Name will always be Dear to *Engliſh-Men*, and his Memory truly Glorious in ſpite of all that little Libellers can ſay to the contrary; whoſe arrows, even their bitter words, will only fall on their own Heads? Would they wipe away this reproach to the *Engliſh* Nation? Let them joyn

in

in a true humiliation, for that great Calamity, and thoſe Sins which brought it on us, inſtead of wiping their Mouths and ſaying they have done no Wickedneſs, or as ſome have the Confidence to give out, a Meritorious Action. Let them no longer keep up their deteſtable Calves-head Clubs, where as much as they can, they repeat that Traiterous and Inhumane Action of their Fore-fathers, and waſh their hands a-new in Royal Blood. If they are deſirous of Peace and unity, let them remember how very many authentick Records there are againſt themſelves, and ſpare their little ſpiteful Reflections againſt the Church; and inſtead of making uſe of all their Wit and Malice to oppoſe her, expreſs their Real Sorrow that they can't entirely agree with her, and make it appear that it is Conſcience only that keeps them at a diſtance. Conſcience which never ſhews it ſelf in railing and reviling, but in Meekneſs and Charity towards all Men, more eſpecially towards Superiors and Governours. Would they have us acquit them of ill Deſigns, and allow them to be *harmleſs Conſcientious Diſſenters*? let 'em lay aſide their Cabals and Parties, and Brags of their Numbers, which can have no other meaning but to Bully the Government; their Scandalous Stories, their Groundleſs Surmiſes, their aggravations and improvements of every little miſtake of thoſe they do not like; and out-facing ſuch matters of Fact as they have been guilty of, tho' bright as the Sun. Would they have us give credit to their profeſſions of being well affected to the Queen's Majeſty and the Eſtabliſh'd Church? Let their words and Actions be all of a piece; or rather, let us have fewer good Words and more good Deeds. For we can't but remember that it has been their Cuſtom to Harrangue their Princes with all the Terms of Duty and Reſpect, at the ſame time that their Actions inſulted Majeſty; Praiſing their Vertues whilſt they were Plotting to deſtroy their Authority; "enlarging as *Pym* did, in ſome ſpecious commendations of "the Nature and Goodneſs of the King, that he might wound "him with leſs ſuſpicion. And if our Author has not ſuch an "*Innuendo* as this, *p.* 25. I know not what to make of it.

Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. 1. Ib. B. 3. p. 137. Mod. a Vert. p. 25.

And when they have given us the above mention'd Proofs of their Principles, Temper, Loyalty and good Affections, and are content that Her Majeſty ſhall diſpoſe of her Offices and Preferments as ſhe thinks fit, which is her undoubted Right; then, if *their Queen and Country* think *them as fit* for their *ſervice as other Men*, in GOD's Name let them have the Employment they ſo much deſire.

Tho'

Tho' it may be obſerv'd, that ſuch Men as are moſt forward in thruſting themſelves into Office, are commonly the moſt unfit to bear any. They give a ſhrewd ſuſpicion that they mean to ſerve themſelves more than the Publick. Offices, when they are diſcharg'd as they ought, being rather Encumbrances than Advantages, ſuch as a Man who loves his Eaſe and Quiet, or who is duly ſenſible of Humane Infirmities, would not contend for; and ſuch as a good Man accepts when fairly call'd to them, for no other reaſon but that he may have more opportunities of doing Good.

In one ſenſe indeed, and at the rate which one of them makes uſe of Scripture Examples, *they* are the ableſt Men, and make the moſt of Preferment. " When *Eſther* was advanc'd, " ſays *Greenhil*, She would not loſe her opportunity; She " went in to the King altho' *contrary* to Law. She will have the " Liberty of the People; and *Haman's head off*, and venture " her Life to accompliſh it. *If I periſh, I periſh. Joſiah, He-* " *zekiah* took their *opportunities*, and made a *through Reforma-* " *tion* in *Judah*. You know what great things *Elijah* did, " *Inſpiciente, & Reluctante Rege.*

In his Sermon to the Commons, Apr. 26. 1643. p. 48.

The Church of *England* Men it ſeems are the only eaſie Folks who let Opportunities ſlip them. Who are ſanguine enough to depend upon the excellency of their *Doctrine* and the Providence of G O D, without taking Legal Advantages, or providing the faireſt, the moſt Lawful and neceſſary Securities! They do not care it ſeems to puſh their Fortune, when it is a Queſtion whether they ſhall carry it. It is but late that their Eyes are-open'd, to ſee their *danger* and *neceſſity*; and when they begin to look about them, the not ſeeing their danger before, is a very good reaſon why they are miſtaken in ſuppoſing any danger now, or making Proviſion againſt it!

It muſt be confeſs'd that if Diſſenters and Men of their Faction, have an entire Confidence and Intereſt in each other; Acting always in Concert, and making their Cauſe the Centre to which all their Motions tend, and where all their Endeavours meet: If they have ſo much Command of themſelves as that their very Paſſions, their Humour and Manners, their Vertues and their Vices contribute towards it: If their Friendſhips and their Favours, their Private Addreſſes as well as their Publick Endeavours only look this way; If no time is loſt, no opportunity ſlipt, but every Common Diſcourſe, every Viſit, or Viſiting-day, ſerves to pump out ſome Intelligence from their unde-

undeſigning and leſs wary Neighbour: If Religion and Honor, and all the Rights of Civil Society, muſt ſtrike Sail to this Supreme End; and thoſe who would not do an evil or unhandſome thing on any other Account, ſtick at nothing to promote the Cauſe; having or at leaſt ſeeming to have, their Very Underſtandings ſo perverted, as to eſteem nothing Inſincere, nothing Amiſs, that can further this Bleſſed End; If they are ſo induſtrious and indefatigable, that whenever there appears in the World a Young Perſon of Quality, or any Meaner Body, whoſe Rank, Eſtate, Ingenuity, or other Talents are like to make him Conſiderable, or any way ſerviceable tho' in the loweſt Degree, they immediately ſeize him, accommodating themſelves to his Temper, or making themſelves neceſſary to his Deſigns, omitting no Cringings, no Fawning, to get an Intereſt in ſome; Flattering their Vanity, and even Serving, or at beſt Conniving at, their Vices; reducing others to Straits to create a Dependance, managing both their Good and Ill Offices to the beſt Advantage to make a Tool; Aſſigning every Man as they find him fit for their Turn, his proper Station; placing even the moſt inconſiderable Tatler, and Spreader of News and falſe Reports, in his Poſt, which he faithfully purſues; every Infamous Libeller and Lampooner having his appointed Task: If they have Ways and Artifices to make even thoſe who abhor their End, contribute towards it; and are furniſh'd with effectual Methods to diſcourage and break the neck of any honeſt and generous Attempt, that ſuits not with their Deſigns; loading it with *ſecret Purpoſes*, of I know not what, or ſuch as never entred into any Man's Thoughts but their own; drawing Inferences which none but themſelves can make; and ſeeing *Conſequences and Effects* which they only can Diſcern, or rather pretend to Diſcern; and by a Diſingenuity peculiar to themſelves, or of which they are at leaſt, the great Originals, uſing Arguments they know to be of no Force, and offering Colours and Reaſons they themſelves give no Credit to, but which are plauſible and paſs in a Crowd, ſerving to amuſe and impoſe upon the Superficial, who are the greateſt Number, how ſhould they fail of Proſelytes?

Not but that they may meet with *ſome* ſo *Inflexibly* and *Unfaſhionably* Honeſt, as not to be wrought upon by their Addreſs and Cajolery: So that when they thruſt themſelves into ſuch a Man's Affairs, endeavouring to draw all his Actions under their Direction and Government, and are as Importune with

their Pretended Kindneſs, as they are with their continual Diſputes and Solicitations: When Unask'd, and even againſt his Will, they obtrude their ſeeming Favours, to the end they may have a hank upon him; taking care to have their Emiſſaries proclaim their Goodneſs every where, with Shews of great Affection and Concern, (tho it may be 'tis attended with real Circumſtances of Contempt) ſo that if he will not fall into their Meaſures, tho' ever ſo much againſt his Judgment, and contrary to his Integrity, much more if he Preſumes to Oppoſe them, tho' with the cleareſt Conſcience and beſt Deſign, they may reproach him loudly with Ingratitude: Yet notwithſtanding all this, he is not to be Brib'd by their Good Offices, nor frighted by their Bad, but ſteadily and Courageouſly Does what he Ought to Do. And ſince the ſuppoſing a Man capable of Corruption, when he never gave them any ground for ſo foul a Thought, but much to the contrary, is the moſt Outragious Affront, and the higheſt Provocation that can be offer'd to a Generous Mind; they even force him to exert himſelf in Vindication of his Honour, and to give them full Conviction, that he neither *is*, nor *can be*, the Villain they would ſuppoſe, or make him. 'Tis true, there are not many ſuch Men as this, ſo that their Methods take with the Generality. Few of thoſe whom they think can be any way ſerviceable to their Ends, but are ſome way or other gain'd by them. No wonder then, if with all this Union, all this Cunning, all this Pains, theſe Arts of *all ſorts*, they are a very formidable Party, whatever their Numbers may be; and being Conſtant and Pertinacious in their Reſolutions, when Reaſon will not gain their Point, they carry it by Firmneſs.

Eſpecially, if on the other Side, the Friends of the Church will be at no pains, run no Hazards; if they depend upon the Truth of her *Doctrine*, and the Juſtneſs and Fairneſs of their own Aims, imagining Men will be ſo Wiſe and ſo Good as to diſcern their True Intereſt from their Apparent, and to Purſue it: If they ſuppoſe, that the *Protection* and Countenance *of a* truly *Pious* Queen, will ſecure the Eſtabliſhment in the Days of her Succeſſors as well as in her own, although they neglect to take the Opportunity and to make the neceſſary Proviſions; That there will not be found in all Ages a *Set of Men*, crafty enough to evade *the Good Laws*, and ſometimes ſtrong enough to break thro' them; And that *Parliaments* however *well Affected* to *Church and State*, have their Periods and Revolutions as well

well as other things, ſo that unleſs their Good Affections, produce ſome Good Fruits, all their Thoughts may periſh; If every Man has his peculiar Scheme and Method; If all are Leaders and none are Followers; If Undertakings are enter'd upon at all Adventures, when no previous Steps have been made, nor Meaſures Concerted; e're the Buſineſs has been digeſted and ripen'd, or Advice taken to Poliſh or Support it; If Perſonal Piques and Reſpects, Tranſport and Byaſs them, and, as in the former days, " each Man is more *intent* on the Ruin of " his Adverſary, and ſatisfying his private Malice, than *on* " advancing *the Service of the* Publick, and by the narrowneſs " of his Underſtanding, and Extent of his Paſſions, contract- " ing all his other Affections, either to his *Ambition*, *his Love* " *of Money* or his Revenge; If they are forwarder in ſhewing their own Talents, and in obtaining their Own Private Ends, than in purſuing the Common Good and ſupporting the Eſtabliſhment; every Man taking his own Particular Way; not according to Reaſon, (for then they would be Unanimous,) but according to his own Humor, and Deſign; If inſtead of making the beſt Uſe of every Mans Parts and Induſtry, they Envy and Suppreſs a true Genius, when they ought to ſupport and employ him; Chuſing rather to make Uſe of ſuch little Tools, mere Machines that move only by their Breath, or ſuch ſuperficial Spirits as they can manage, and who will not eclipſe the Managers Glory: In a Word, if they loſe all Opportunities either by Negligence or Over-doing; if thro' want of Temper they raiſe Objections, and by Neglect of Meaſures are overreach'd by thoſe who know how to take and purſue them; if by making too much haſt they run themſelves out of Breath; loſing the Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance of ſuch as heartily joyn in their *End*, but can't approve their Manner: If they make no Application, and are ſo afraid of the very Appearance of the Servile Compliance they obſerve in other Men, that they can hardly be perſuaded to ſhew even a Common Civility, to Men of Intereſt and Power, whilſt the other Party make all the Courtſhip and Cringings imaginable, Promiſing and Undertaking any thing to gain their Favour; Are not the Great Men in a manner forc'd into an Intereſt, which its like they may be as little fond of, as Good Men are willing they ſhould eſpouſe it? But Buſineſs muſt be done, Great Men will ſeek a Support where they may eaſily have it; and it is not to be ſuppos'd that they will condeſcend to Court others when they

See my Lord Clarend. V. I. B. II p. 112.

themſelves are in Power, and when it may be the Approaches they make are not receiv'd as they ought to be; If this is the way of the Friends of Truth and Juſtice, if a Juſt and Honourable Cauſe is no better ſerv'd than this comes to, without being a Prophet one may predict the Event; tho' we Pray and Hope, and Endeavour as far as our Power will reach, that we may be miſtaken. For it muſt be confeſs'd that tho' the Diſſenters, like *the Children of this World*, are not ſo wiſe as the Church-Men, who we hope are *the Children of Light*, in the choice of their End, yet they are much *wiſer in their Generation*, that is, in the choice of thoſe Means and Methods they take to obtain it, and in the vigorous purſuit of them.

And ſince Factions and Diviſions in a State can never be for the Publick Good, but only ſerve the Intereſt of a few, and thoſe the worſt of Men, as making an ill uſe of their Endowments, Since Private Animoſities and Intereſts muſt be buried in the Grave, whither we are all haſtning, but the miſchiefs they occaſion will out-live us: ſince if Men can't be pleas'd with ſuch Eſtabliſhments as, to ſay nothing of the Wiſdom of their Authors, have been meliorated with Time, and had the approbation of Ages; 'tis not like they ſhould be pleas'd with the Novel Inventions of Innovators; Let all ſuch as really Love their Country and ſeek its Peace, Unanimouſly and Vigorouſly join in ſecuring the Eſtabliſhment. And if they are ſincere and Earneſt in this good Deſign, they will immediately apply themſelves to ſuch Methods as may compaſs it, and neither be frighted nor trick'd into ſuch ways as have always been found ineffectual.

It is ſufficiently evident, one would think beyond diſpute, that it is Faction, not Conſcience that keeps up our Diviſions, and therefore all our Condeſcenſions, all our Compliances will never bring Diſſenters over to the Eſtabliſhed Church, all that they mean by cloſing the Breaches, being only a perſuading us to fall into ſuch Meaſures as may give them opportunity to force us to ſubmit to *them*. The preventing this, is the hardſhip they complain of, and whatever Grace and Favours were allow'd them, unleſs this were one, they would ſtill complain of being Perſecuted; for this, we find has always been their Practice, and continues to be ſo from Queen *Elizabeth* to Queen *Anne*.

Nor will the joining them with the Friends of the Conſtitution in the Adminiſtration, appeaſe *them* or ſecure *that*. *Such U-*
Vol. 1 B. 2. p. 93. *nions*, as my Lord *Clarendon* moſt judiciouſly obſerves, *producing often the greateſt Confuſions*. " For when more and greater Men
" are

" are call'd together than can be United in Affections and In-
" tereſts, thro' the neceſſary Differences which ariſe from
" thence, they quickly come to know each other ſo well, as
" they rather break into ſeveral Diviſions, than Join in any
" one Publick Intereſt, and from thence have always riſen the
" moſt dangerous Factions, which have threatned and ruin'd
" the Peace of Nations.

And ſince by the continual Struggle of contending Parties, the Government is render'd uneaſy and precarious, the Prince whoſe true Grandeur conſiſts in the Proſperity and Dutiful Affections of his People, by being made uneaſy on his Throne, finds himſelf unable to attend the Publick Good as a Wiſe and Vertuous Prince deſires, and is forc'd to apply himſelf only to provide for his own Security. The People are alarm'd and harraſs'd, the Benefit of Society is in a great meaſure loſt, it being better to Live alone, than to be always in fear, always in Arms and upon the Guard; and much more eaſy to have only wild Beaſts to contend with, than to be ever at variance with thoſe of the ſame Nature, nay it may be with our neareſt Relations. For whatever ſome may pretend, as if the Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation were kept up by theſe Contentions, a Poſition as falſe in Practice as it is Ridiculous in Theory, none being gainers by Diviſions and Parties, but a few buſie Men who love to fiſh in troubled Waters; unleſs there be a mutual Confidence between Prince and People, and an Harmony among all the Members of the Conſtitution, ſo that the one need not be put upon Acts of Power to defend Prerogative, nor the other upon Sedition to contend for Liberty, or Artifices to ſtruggle for Privileges, all will in a little time become a prey to Factious and Ambitious Men.

What remains then, but that according to the Practice of all Nations Ancient and Modern, and particularly of our good Neighbours and Allies the *Dutch*, who are too good Proteſtants to be Perſecutors, and too Zealous Aſſertors of Liberty to entrench on the Birth-rights of the People, we ſecure the Government in the hands of ſuch as Conſtantly and in their Judgments, and not *Occaſionally* and for private Intereſt, Comply with and approve it? Fear and a tickliſh tenure, ſuch as Uſurpation ſtands upon, and which G O D be thank'd is not at *preſent* our Caſe, may incline a Miniſtry to admit another Party to ſhare the Government, that ſo they may oblige them. But for thoſe to part with their advantages who have a Lawful and Vertuous Prince,

Prince, the Conſtitution, the greateſt number, as well as the moſt powerful and wealthy on their ſide; who have both all the Right and all the opportunities they can wiſh, to ſecure to themſelves and their Poſterity an excellent Eſtabliſhment, for theſe to divide their advantages, and admit their known Enemies into places of Credit and Truſt, is a piece of ſelf-denial and Generoſity that Hiſtories don't furniſh us with! And ſince we muſt not Queſtion the Prudence and Fore-ſight of our Superiours, we may pray however, if this be the Caſe, that they may not ſuffer for their Generoſity and Good-nature.

Eſpecially ſince they admit a Party, who when they get uppermoſt, either by their own Craft or the negligence of their Neighbours, never fail to take all the Precautions that Cunning can Invent, and Induſtry purſue, to keep the other out. Who have been found by experience, always ready to improve thoſe advantages, to the deſtruction of the Conſtitution, which we now neglect to uſe for its Preſervation. And ſince the Church-Men are the Body of the Nation, all other Diviſions being but Parties, and inconſiderable ones too, however they may Muſter and boaſt of their Strength upon *Occaſion*, to fright their Governours when they want Reaſon to Convince, or Power to compel them; ſince it is ſo much for Her Majeſty's Service and Honour, that all Contentions ſhould ceaſe, and that as the Reformation was compleated in the Reign of Her Glorious Predeceſſor Queen *Elizabeth*, ſo Unity both in Church and State may be the Bleſſing that Poſterity ſhall derive from the more Glorious Reign of Queen *Anne*.

Since we cannot expreſs our due Senſe of Her Majeſty's truly Maternal Affection and Care of Her People, and unwearied application to do them good; but by being as unwearied and earneſt in our Returns of Duty and Zeal for her Intereſt, which is indeed our own; this being the only Laudable Contention between Prince and People. Nor can we better ſhew this Zeal than by putting a final Period, if poſſible, to this hitherto endleſs ſtruggle of Faction and Party; Which, by all that appears, can only be done by extinguiſhing all their Hopes of Frighting or Cajoling the Government to admit them into the Adminiſtration,

As for the honeſt and well-meaning Diſſenters, for I will ſuppoſe there are ſuch as have no evil Intentions, but ſeparate in the ſimplicity of their hearts, let us entreat them and conjure them,

them, as they will anſwer it to GOD and their Country, and even to their own Souls, to be no longer the Tools of Crafty and Factious Men, whoſe Buſineſs is only themſelves, whatever they may pretend for Religion and Liberty. Let them remember how much they have formerly been impos'd upon by that Imputation of Popery, with which the Church of *England* was ſo Confidently, and yet as experience has ſhewn, ſo groundleſly charg'd. And let them reflect that all the other Objections againſt Her may be as weak as that. And for the heads of the Party, the buſie and leading Men, we do not expect to convince, much leſs Convert them. Only they may pleaſe to take notice, that they have not put out our eyes, we ſee thro' their pretences, and are able to detect their Fallacies, how cloſely and cunningly ſoever they carry them.

Thus have I done with my Author, and I hope, with all the Arguments have been offer'd for his Cauſe; for it was not my deſign to examine him only, perhaps that had not been worth ones while. How I have ſucceeded, the Reader muſt Judge; but I am ſenſible this Diſcourſe will pleaſe no Party, it was not indeed calculated for any: My deſign was to ſpeak Truth impartially, and I hope I have done it, and this is all I aim'd at. For thoſe who have a good Cauſe, too often ſpoil it by mingling their private Paſſions with the Intereſt of Truth and Juſtice, endeavouring to Juſtify Right or Wrong all the Meaſures and Actions of thoſe who are of their Side.

'Tis allow'd that Men always propoſe themſelves, and will not Act, at leaſt not vigorouſly, but where they think to find their own Account. Nor ought it be otherwiſe, for he is the beſt Man who moſt reſolutely and conſtantly purſues his own *true Intereſt*. But then, that I may be rightly Underſtood, a Petty Temporal Advantage, and *all* Temporal Advantages are but *Petty*; a Place, a Title, an Eſtate, or Power to Act his Paſſions, are not a Man's *true Intereſt*. Nor does he underſtand it who propoſes to himſelf any other Aim, than the Conſcience of doing Nobly at Preſent, and the Reward of it Hereafter.

And therefore the Man of Conſcience and Probity is the Beſt States-man, the trueſt Patriot. He dares not betray his Country be the Bribe ever ſo Great, becauſe he ſhould *loſe by it*. He dares not abuſe his Sovereigns Power, nor oppreſs his Fellow-Subjects, becauſe this were not for his *own Advantage*. He is vigorous in ſuppreſſing Vice, and in encouraging true Religion and Vertue, becauſe in this he finds his *own Account*.

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He has *no need* of ill Men to carry on ill Deſigns, for he has no ſuch Deſigns, and therefore he does not Countenance them.

It may be he is not ſo skilful in the Arts of Inſinuation, in the making and managing a Party, as other Men are; nor know I whether to term this his Vice or his Vertue. For he thinks Reaſonable Creatures ought to diſcern their own Real Good and purſue it; to Love Truth and Juſtice for their own ſake, and not need to be wheedled and trick'd into their Duty; or won by Arts that are too Mean for a Man of Honor and Spirit to condeſcend to. He may therefore for want of this verſatile Quality, loſe his Point ſometimes, but however he *ought* to carry it. And in ſpite of thoſe weak and injudicious Cenſurers, who judge of Actions by Events, and reckon a Man Wiſe for no better Reaſon than becauſe he happens to be Succeſsful; Our Chriſtian States-man is truly Great and Happy, in the Honorableneſs of his Good and Generous Deſigns, in the Wiſdom of his Methods, and the Fidelity and Integrity of his Adminiſtration, whatever the Succeſs may be.

F I N I S.